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JPRS-UIA-85-011

15 October 1985

USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

DEVELOPMENT TRENDS IN LIGHT INDUSTRY

Moscow EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV in Russian No 7,
Jul 85 pp 33-36

[Article by Emil Melikher, MIEP MSS, under rubric "Everything for the Good of Man": "Tendencies in the Development of Light Industry"]

[Text] In the decisions made at the Economic Summit Conference of the CEMA Member Countries the tasks posed include the task of improving the material-technical base of all the branches that produce consumer goods, as being a very important prerequisite for the more complete guaranteeing of the growing needs for them among the population of the CEMA member countries and the further qualitative shifts in their production and exchange. Provision is also made for the carrying out of joint measures to reinforce the raw-materials base for their production and for carrying out the technical re-equipping and modernization of the corresponding branches of industry, and for the substantial increase in the production for their reciprocal shipments.

It should be noted that, thanks to the interaction in various forms, including by means of production cooperation, scientific-technical cooperation, and foreign trade most of the CEMA member countries have already achieved high absolute indicators for the production of output with regard to the basic commodities of light industry, which make it possible basically to satisfy the domestic needs and to carry out stable export. During the past 20 years the production of output in light industry in the CEMA member countries increased by a factor of 1.3-6.3, and there has been a noticeable tendency toward the equalizing of the levels of the production and consumption of those commodities per capita of population.

For example, for cotton fabrics the correlation between the indicators in the countries with the highest and the lowest level of production in per-capita terms dropped from 1 : 3 in 1950 to 1 : 1.15 in 1983; for woolen fabrics, from 1 : 5.5 to 1 : 2.2; for footwear, from 1 : 7.5 to 1 : 2.8; etc.

The branch that had the highest share in the overall volume of ground output of light industry in the countries of the socialist community as a whole during the past decade was the textile branch. The production of commodities being produced in accordance with modern progressive technological schemes -- knit articles and nonwoven materials -- developed at outstripping rates.

By 1983 the light industry of the CEMA member countries produced, per capita of population, the following quantity of individual types of commodities (Table 1).

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	Table 1
Изделие	НРБ	ВНР	ГДР	Республика Куба	МНР	ПНР	СРР	СССР	ЧССР	
(11) Ткани в целом, м ²	52	37,7	43,2	15,6	—	28,2	41,8	36,0	49,3	
(12) Ткани хлопчатобумажные, м ²	40,8	28,9	27,0	14,1	—	19,1	32,2	26,5	36,6	
(13) Ткани шерстяные, м ²	6,7	3,5	5,5	—	0,9	3,8	4,7	2,8	6,1	
(14) Ткани шелковые, м ²	4,8	5,3	11,0	0,1	—	4,0	4,9	6,7	6,6	
(15) Чулочно-носочные изделия, пар	7,6	5,7	20,6	2,6	—	3,7	10,7	6,6	6,8	
(16) Верхний трикотаж, шт.	6,1	3,7	3,1	0,9	—	3,1	6,9	1,7	4,5	
(17) Бельевой трикотаж, шт.	8,6	3,6	11,4	2,6	—	6,2	6,6	4,3	4,6	
(18) Обувь кожаная, пар	2,9	4,1	4,9	2,4	1,0	3,	4,7 ¹	2,7	7,9	
(19) ¹ Вся обувь.										

- [Key]:
- 1 - Article
 - 2 - Bulgaria
 - 3 - Hungary
 - 4 - East Germany
 - 5 - Cuba
 - 6 - Mongolian People's Republic
 - 7 - Poland
 - 8 - Romania
 - 9 - USSR
 - 10 - Czechoslovakia
 - 11 - Textiles as a whole, square meters
 - 12 - Textiles, cotton, square meters
 - 13 - Textiles, woolen, square meters
 - 14 - Textiles, silk, square meters
 - 15 - Socks and stockings, pairs
 - 16 - Outer knitwear, number of articles
 - 17 - Knit undergarments, number of articles
 - 18 - Leather footwear, pairs
 - 19 - Total footwear.

The basic tendencies in the development of the light industry of the fraternal countries confirm the situation regarding the equalization of the levels of production in a number of its branches and the change in the share of the individual countries in the production of consumer goods. Thus, high rates of growth in the production of the textile and knitwear industry are observed in such countries as Vietnam, Mongolia, and Cuba, in which, during the current five-year plan, there are considerably higher than in the European CEMA member countries: in Mongolia, by a factor of approximately 2 (increase during the five-year period will be 150-155 percent), that is, an average annual increase from 8.45 to 9.15 percent; in Cuba, 123 percent.

At the present time light industry has been assigned the task of improving the quality of output. It will be necessary to expand the variety and rapidly

renew it, and to achieve a competitive capability on the foreign markets. In this regard, in East Germany, for example, it is planned to increase the share of new commodities in the overall volume of production of the gross output of the textile industry to 20 percent by 1985 (as compared with 16 percent in 1980); the share of output with higher quality in 1985 will be approximately 30-40 percent for semifinished goods and 40-60 percent for finished articles (34.4 percent in 1980). In Czechoslovakia, with a consideration of the annual renovation of the variety, the domestic market will receive more than 30 percent of new models of output. In the USSR, in conformity with the plan for the development of light industry for 1981-1985, there has been developed for the first time a special program for creating and assimilating the production of new types of progressive output in the textile industry: silk fabrics, knit and haberdashery-textile articles, syntheticfibers, heavy industrial fabrics, and nonwoven materials.

The increase in the production of commodities in the light industry of the CEMA member countries depends upon the material-technical support of individual branches, and this, in its turn, is linked with the organization of capital investments, the policy with respect to which is determined by the ear-marked distribution of the accumulation fund in individual countries.

In the 1970's on the average for the expansion and modernization of the existing capacities in light industry, use was made of from one-half to two-thirds of the total investments, but in 1981-1985 that share will constitute 70-90 percent.

Prior to 1990 the investment policy of the CEMA member countries in light industry will be aimed at the modernization and remodeling of the already created powerful production complex and the increasing of its effectiveness. In Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia, with the technical assistance of the fraternal countries, it is planned to have a considerable volume of new construction in the textile and leather-footwear branches of industry.

Applying Joint Efforts to Put Things on a New Technical Base

The changeover to the new technical base is the overall strategic task in the development of the economy of the fraternal countries. During the past decade, positive shifts have occurred in the structure of their light industry: there has been an increase in the share of the progressive branches and production entitites based on new technological processes; there has been an improvement of the machine pool being used, and an expansion of the sphere of application of automatic equipment. The intensive automation of light industry is the chief area for development, which will lead to a farther increase in the degree to which the branch is technically equipped with a sharp reduction in the labor-intensity of production. In the long-term view, the influx of manpower into this branch will be reduced, and therefore all the CEMA member countries will have to resolve the problem of increasing production in the face of limited labor resources by means of assuring the additional technical equipping of labor.

The raising of the level of technical equipping of labor in the branches of light industry is achieved thanks to the specialization of production of the machinery and equipment for them. International specialization and cooperative action in production (MSKP) has received the greatest development in the production of equipment for the textile branch. Its share in the reciprocal trade of the CEMA member countries in machine-building output for light industry constitutes 80 percent. Among the most important agreements dealing with MSKP in the production of textile equipment, it is necessary to mention the bilateral agreements that the USSR has with Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland concerning the cooperative production of nonshuttle textile looms, type STB; the agreement between the USSR and East Germany concerning cooperative production of combers for cotton. It is also necessary to include in the cooperative production the permanent shipments from Czechoslovakia to the USSR of assemblies and parts for spindleless spinning machine, type BD. Very important partners of the USSR in this kind of cooperation are East Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

In textile machine-building an important role is played by multilateral cooperation. New multilateral agreements have been concluded for the production of modern types of equipment, including two within the framework of Intertekstilmash; the cooperative production of STB-type looms prior to 1985 and the production of needles and beds for knitting machines. In conformity with a multilateral treaty governing the specialization and cooperative production of STB-type looms and assemblies for them, their production during the current five-year plan will increase by a factor of 1.2. It is planned to raise the technical level of the looms, and that will make it possible to increase their productivity by 20-25 percent.

The CEMA member countries are also developing other multilateral treaties governing the division of labor in the production of machinery and equipment for the textile, garment, and knitwear industry. Within the near future Intertekstilmash proposes carrying out measures to deepen the specialization and cooperative action in the production of assemblies, parts, and component and auxiliary articles for the basic machines and equipment for light industry, which for the time being are being purchased from capitalist companies.

The countries in the socialist community are planning to develop at outstripping rates the production of progressive types of equipment for the production of chemical fibers, knitwear, dyeing and finishing equipment, that make it possible to guarantee the high quality of the articles. This will require the definite reorganization of the material-technical base in the machine-building branches in those countries, and the increase in the production of equipment with higher technical-economic and qualitative features, including partially or completely automated equipment, looms with programmed control, etc.

One of the important areas for deepening cooperative action is the development of multilateral interbranch cooperation, which unites the production of articles both in light industry and in the corresponding branches of machine-building and chemistry. With this kind of cooperation, it would be desirable to coordinate the production programs of machine-building with a consideration of the needs that light industry has for specific types of equipment, and to coordinate the technical-economic features of the articles to be produced,

the volumes and terms of the reciprocal shipments, of servicing, etc. It is necessary to improve the coordination of the production programs of machine-building, keeping in mind the needs of the light industry of the fraternal countries for specific types of equipment, and to deepen the scientific-technical ties in the production of output that meets modern requirements.

An effective form of unifying the efforts of the CEMA member countries in developing the priority areas of scientific-cooperation will be the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries for the Next 15-20 Years. It will make it possible to guarantee the coordination of the scientific-technical policy by the interested countries with regard to the priority areas and to formulate on that basis a continuously operating system of planning: "forecast-program-plan."

Raw-Materials Base

A very important condition for developing light industry in the countries of the socialist community is the providing of that industry with the necessary raw materials. The countries can resolve that task by using the chemical output, and also by increasing the production of those commodities for which the individual countries have their own raw-materials base. As a whole, in the reinforcement of the raw-materials base of the branches of light industry by 1990 and subsequently one can discern three chief areas. First, the development of natural raw-materials resources wherever the opportunities for that exist. Secondly, the improvement of the production of artificial types of raw materials (chemical fibers, synthetic hides, etc.); the creation of the powerful raw-materials base of the countries in the socialist community, with the observance of the optimal proportions in the application of natural and chemical raw materials, including application by groups of countries. Thirdly, the expansion of the use of secondary types of raw materials, regenerated fibers, and technological waste products.

In the current five-year plan the CEMA member countries are attaching a large amount of importance to the economizing of raw materials in light industry and are developing special programs for using technological waste products. The Bulgarian Ministry of Light Industry prepares these programs annually on the basis of data from the textile enterprises and the shoe factories. Czechoslovakia has adopted a long-term program for the reprocessing of used consumer goods. State cost-accountability associations for using secondary raw materials are being created (in Bulgaria, Vtorsyrye; in Poland, the Secondary Raw Materials Association, attached to the Ministry of Light Industry); and a network of stations is being organized for the purpose of collecting, sorting, and storing recyclable materials in all the major cities.

The increase and qualitative improvement of the production parameters in the branches of light industry in the CEMA member countries are closely linked with the exchange of commodities on the international market. Those commodities in the foreign trade of the fraternal countries occupy third place in the overall volume of commodity turnover. A definite kind of export specialization in light industry has developed. For example, the share of export in

the production of cotton fabrics in 1982 in Hungary was 26 percent; East Germany, 18; Poland, 6.6; Romania, 9.4; and Czechoslovakia, 20.8 percent; of woolen and wool-type fabrics in Bulgaria, 7.9 percent; Hungary, 26.3; East Germany, 10; Poland, 16.4; and Czechoslovakia, 23.4 percent; silk fabrics and half-silk fabrics made of synthetic fibers in Bulgaria, 14.7 percent; Hungary, 45.6; East Germany, 27.8; Poland, 7.6; and Czechoslovakia, 18.2 percent; linen fabrics and fabrics produced by the bast industry in Hungary, 11.3 percent; Poland, 16.5; and Czechoslovakia, 14.4 percent.

In 1982, out of the total volume of production of footwear made of leather or leather substitutes, Bulgaria exported 4.9 percent; Poland, 13.5; Romania, 16.5; Czechoslovakia, 24.3; and Hungary, 43.9 percent. Approximately the same tendency was observed in 1983.

As a result of the specialization that has been developing, in recent years there have been definite structural changes in the exporting and importing of individual types of output of light industry in the CEMA member countries (Table 2).

From Table 2 it can be seen that the export of cotton fabrics has been growing in East Germany, Romania, and Czechoslovakia. Shipments of woolen fabrics have been increasing in all the countries in the socialist community. The export of silk fabrics has been increasing in Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, and the USSR. Shipments of clothing and knitwear have been increasing in Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. According to tradition, a major exporter of footwear among the CEMA member countries is Czechoslovakia, despite the fact that in recent years, in conformity with its economic policy, the exporting of footwear (expressed in physical terms) has been decreased somewhat in that country.

Hungary and Poland have been increasing the import of cotton fabrics, and Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba, Mongolia, and Poland, the import of woolen ones. Other than Bulgaria, East Germany, Romania, and Czechoslovakia, all the other fraternal countries have been increasing the import of silk fabrics. There has also been an increase in the import of clothing and underwear. A very large importer of footwear is the USSR. The increase in the volume of commodities of light industry on the market of the CEMA member countries is leading to an increase in the commodity funds in domestic trade, and to a substantial improvement of the structure of their variety, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Table 2
 (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10)

	Год	ЧНР	ВНР	ГДР	Республика Куба	МНР	ПНР	CPP	СССР	ЧССР
(11) ЭКСПОРТ										
(13) Хлопчатобумажные ткани, млн. м ²	1970	108.1	64.1	—	—	107.0	83.7	307.0	113.0	—
(14) Шерстяные ткани, млн. м ²	1983	22.4	74.8	114.0	—	61.3	124.0	85.9	131.0	—
(15) Шелковые ткани, млн. м ²	1970	0.1	3.3	5.6	—	7.0	—	—	62.0	18.4
(16) Одежда и белье, млн. руб.	1983	4.2	9.7	10.1	—	8.5	—	3.3	21.2	—
(17) Трикотаж, млн. руб.	1970	0.5	23.2	17.7	—	23.9	—	9.2	19.7	—
(18) Кожаная обувь, млн. пар	1983	3.3	26.7	55.9	—	10.9	—	123	67.2	362.0
(12) ИМПОРТ										
(13) Хлопчатобумажные ткани ¹ , млн. м ²	1970	50.1	28.8	84.3	58.3	13.6	40.2	29.6	—	5.7
(14) Шерстяные ткани ¹ , млн. м ²	1983	10.3	36.1	44.2	43.0	54.6	11.0	4.6	—	11.6
(15) Шелковые ткани ¹ , млн. м ²	1970	0.9	1.5	1.7	0.74	0.7	1.3	3.9	12.0	2.4
(16) Одежда и белье, млн. руб.	1983	1.3	4.9	0.1	5.2	1.5	6.8	1.0	6.9	1.1
(17) Трикотаж, млн. руб.	1970	2.9	7.2	2.5	11.0	4.4	2.6	2.8	81.8	2.0
(18) Кожаная обувь, млн. пар	1983	2.1	8.5	0.3	33.1	7.3	4.6	0.4	153.0	0.8

(19) 1 МНР, ПНР, CPP "ЧССР" — МЛН. м.

- [Key]: 1 - Year; 2 - Bulgaria; 3 - Hungary; 4 - East Germany; 5 - Cuba; 6 - Mongolia; 7 - Poland;
 8 - Romania; 9 - USSR; 10 - Czechoslovakia.
 11 - Export; 12 - Import;
 13 - Cotton textiles, million square meters; 14 - Woolen textiles, million square meters;
 15 - Silk textiles, million square meters; 16 - Clothing and undewear, million rubles;
 17 - Knitwear, million rubles; 18 - Leather footwear, million pairs;
 19 - Mongolia, Poland, USSR, and Czechoslovakia -- million meters.

SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT BANK: 1984 ACTIVITIES

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 22, May 85, p 20

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences V.Zholobov]

[Text] As already reported, the 38th board meeting of the International Investment Bank (IIB) was held recently in Moscow. The board reviewed and approved the bank's report on its activities in 1984 and its balance sheet as of January 1, 1985; decisions were made on profit distribution for 1984 as well as on other aspects of the bank's operations.

The activities of the IIB, as in previous years, were directed at solving problems relating to the further development of socialist economic integration and implementing long-term specific cooperation programs (LTSCP) between CEMA countries.

A major influence on the bank's work was exerted by the decisions adopted at the summit economic conference of CEMA member countries held in Moscow in June of last year. IIB operations are intended to lend active assistance to the implementation of those decisions. At the present time the bank is coordinating with responsible organs of the other member-countries a list of projects it could directly finance.

In 1984 the IBB centered its attention for the most part on funding integration-related projects of major significance for the development of member-states' economies and the expansion of cooperation between them. Top priority was given to measures covered by the LTSCP and the Coordinated Plan for multilateral integrational measures of CEMA countries for 1981-1985.

In 1984 the bank extended credit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria for enlarging the scientific production combine "Farmakhim". The loan will be used to acquire machinery and equipment and conduct construction and installation work. When the new facilities become operational and production is expanded the combine's annual capacity will more than double. This will allow a significant increase in the export to the countries of the socialist commonwealth of the commodities in question.

The republic of Cuba was given a loan to build the sugar mill "Camaguey-III". Exports of raw sugar to CEMA countries will exceed 50 percent of the mill's annual output. In 1985 two more similar-type mills will be put into operation. This will allow shipments of sugar to socialist countries to be increased.

Credit was extended to the "Umformtechnik" combine in the GDR to expand capacity in the manufacture of equipment for cold-stamping and processing plastics as well as stamps and presses for processing metals. The combine is one of the largest heavy machine-building enterprises among CEMA countries; its output is on a par with the finest world standards. These latest credits will be used to purchase high-tech equipment that will enable it to significantly increase production and exports of its output to the socialist countries.

The 38th meeting of the bank's board made another loan to the "Umformtechnik" combine, the fourth in a row. It was also decided to grant a loan to a traditional IIB customer, the Hungarian plant which builds "Icarus" buses. Credits were also extended to three enterprises of the Bulgarian association "Balkancar" - the diesel engine combine imeni V.Kolarov, the shop-car manufacturing combine "Rekord" and the accumulator plant imeni M.Shatorov.

In the course of the past year the bank continued to work with enterprises earlier granted loans for their modernization, reconstruction and expansion of production. Here are several examples:

Credit extended for these purposes to the machine tool combine imeni 7th October in the German Democratic Republic is being systematically and efficiently assimilated. The loan enables the enterprise to substantially increase its output of lathes, grinding machines and automatic flow lines and their exports to CEMA member countries.

IIB credits are being used to implement a program of railroad electrification and reconstruction in the Hungarian People's Republic. The work now in progress will lead to higher traffic-carrying capacity and better-quality technical maintenance on the sections Aszod-Vác, Budapest-Pusztabolcs-Dunaújváros, Pusztabolcs-Pécs which make up a part of international category main lines.

An LTSCP project in the area of energy, fuel and raw materials is the construction, now nearing completion, of an antioxidant-producing plant at the chemical combine "Duslo Szala" in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. This project is also being financed by the bank. The plant will use a progressive technology developed jointly by Soviet and Czechoslovak specialists. Close to 80 percent of its output which is used in the production of rubberware will be shipped to the bank's member countries.

Developing successfully are the bank's credit relations with the aforementioned Bulgarian association "Balkancar", one of the world's major manufacturers of hoist transport machines. The association's products are exported to over 60 countries.

Overall, the projects financed by the IIB are characterized by effectiveness, a high level of automation and mechanization, a modern production technology and quick construction-costs recovery.

In 1984 a number of projects financed by the IIB were put into operation. Reconstruction of the enterprise and expansion of metal structure production was completed at the "Ganz Mavag" machine building plant in the Hungarian People's Republic. The implementation here of the planned capital investment program has significantly increased the enterprise's production capacity. In 1984 the "Icarus" plant in the HPR which makes the comfortable passenger bus "Icarus" achieved planned capacity. The reconstruction and expansion of this plant was financed by several IIB loans. The plant is a highly profitable venture and the largest bus building enterprise in Europe. Its products are widely known and are shipped to almost 50 countries of the world.

Two stages in the expansion and modernization of the TANG tool and die plant in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have been completed with the help of an IIB loan. As a result, the production capacity of the enterprise has increased almost threefold.

Overall, from 1971 to 1984 the IIB extended credits to 85 projects in CEMA countries, the SFRY and the international business organization "Interatominstrument". The total estimated costs of these projects is over ten billion transferable rubles. 62 of them have been put into operation. In all, the credits extended by the bank exceed 3.6 billion rubles. The export deliveries made by the projects financed is constantly growing in volume. Shipments of commodities to CEMA countries over the above period were worth over 23 billion transferable rubles, including 4 billion in 1984 alone.

The credit policy pursued by the bank takes into account the process of structural redistribution of investments in favor of the fuel and energy base and the leading sectors of the processing industry, primarily machine building. A breakdown by industry of credits extended by the IIB from 1971 to 1984 reveals that the largest share went to the fuel and energy industries (67 percent), machine building, including the electrotechnical and electronic industries (20 percent), metallurgy and chemistry (9 percent).

The International Investment Bank has achieved good results, operated at a profit and substantially increased its reserve capital. Compared to last year, the amount of credits in transferable rubles extended in 1984 was a record for the current five-year plan period.

The bank's assets at the beginning of 1985 stood at 2.325 billion transferable rubles, profits earned were 22.7 transferable rubles as against 21.8 million in 1983.

The bank continued to broaden its cooperation with CEMA and its organs— currency, finance and foreign trade standing commissions, the Committee for cooperation in the planning process. Particular attention was devoted to perfecting international socialist credit operations. Business relations were strengthened with the International Bank for Economic Cooperation (IBEC). The IIB activized its contacts with planning, financial and foreign trade organs of the CEMA states.

Guided by the decisions adopted by the Economic conference and the Composite Program for socialist economic cooperation, the International Investment Bank will continue to render all possible assistance to the implementation of measures designed to intensify production, develop specialization and cooperation and, on this basis, raise the level of social and economic development in the countries of the socialist commonwealth.

BALANCE SHEET
of the International Investment Bank in transferable rubles

	ASSETS	as of January 1		LIABILITIES	as of January 1	
		1984	1985		1984	1985
1. Monies in current accounts, on hand and in deposits	735,378,874	725,003,552	1. Ownership capital including unpaid part thereof	1,071,300,000	1,071,300,000	
2. Credits granted	1,507,557,992	1,521,757,407	2. Reserve capital	374,970,000	374,970,000	
3. Office building and other bank properties	10,814,410	11,964,221	3. Special loan fund	105,239,164	124,030,903	
4. Other assets	71,267,462	82,471,925	4. Credits received and loans taken in	30,987,050	31,861,838	
			5. Bank office construction fund and amortization allowance	1,693,852,225	1,696,245,983	
			6. Other liabilities	11,349,774	13,043,872	
			7. Profits	86,829,525	78,338,287	
BALANCE	2,325,018,738	2,341,197,105	BALANCE	2,325,018,738	2,341,197,105	

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CSO: 1825/90

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

COMPREHENSIVE LOOK AT IMPORTANCE OF FUTURE ASIAN SECURITY

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 37, Sep 85 pp 18-22

[Article by Dmitry Volsky]

[Text]

Opinions may differ as to where the shape of the world's future is being determined. But that it is in many respects dependent on what is happening in Asia can hardly be denied. And not only because it is the biggest continent and is inhabited by the majority of mankind. The important thing is that its millions have awakened to conscious political life. And no one will ever again be able to return them to their former state of torpor. All the more so, since Asia was by no means always somnolent. When wild beasts still roamed the forest tract that was Europe and no one in the Old World had the slightest inkling of the existence of America, in Asia the tower of Babylon was built, cuneiform messages were left for posterity, and gunpowder and porcelain were invented. Millions of people still work the unyielding soil with wooden hoes their forbears used thousands of years ago. Meanwhile perhaps the most sophisticated computers in the world are revealing the contours of coming centuries, of whose harbingers, both good and evil, there are perhaps more in Asia than in a great many other parts of the world.

Asia has many faces also in the social sense. There are socialist countries and capitalist, republics and monarchies, industrial countries and newly emergent ones that have only just begun to restructure their life along modern lines—all of them objectively interested not merely in living peacefully side by side, but in helping one another resolve the difficult problems facing them. The problems of Mitsubishi employees differ from those of the desert nomads, but all of them want to live better tomorrow than they do today. No one

wants to see the fruits of his labour appropriated by others, or to experience the destructive consequences technological progress often has for the generous Nature of Asia.

But there is the problem of problems, the solution of which is the precondition for tackling all the rest. Namely, security in Asia. The time has come for a comprehensive approach to it. As Mikhail Gorbachev stressed on August 29, "obviously the elaboration and practical realization of the concept of Asian security is a long-term task. To carry it into practice a stage-by-stage approach—from the simple to the more complex—is needed."

All the more important is it, then, to make a start.

Who Is to Blame

Human civilization has its roots in Asia as well as in Europe. And it is tragic indeed that the threat to the survival of civilization and of mankind itself exists in Asia as it does in Europe.

Several years ago NATO Supreme Commander General Bernard Rogers predicted that if another world war were to break out it would happen as like as not on the Middle East—Persian Gulf—Indian Ocean line. He could have continued the line to the Pacific Ocean and the Far East. For there too seats of tension are springing up and war preparations are under way. Who in these circumstances would venture to deny that it is essential to put an end to the war danger in Asia? But to combat that danger effectively it is essential clearly to see the source of the

looming disaster. And in this sense, unfortunately, some in Asia suffer from something of a political myopia. For instance, it is sometimes alleged that the root of the trouble lies in a struggle for hegemony in Asia between the so-called "superpowers," meaning the Soviet Union and the United States.

Is there any truth in this contention? At first glance it might seem that there is. The approach of the Soviet Union and that of the United States to the problems of Asia are so widely different as to look as if both sides were indeed equally responsible. Particularly since in many parts of Asia American and Soviet forces come into direct contact.

Let us take a closer look at the situation. To begin with, the U.S.S.R., as is generally known, is not only a European but also an Asian power. The greater part of its territory is in Asia. And this is not just a formal criterion. For instance, where the Soviet Central Asian Republics are now located, in ancient times there were important centres of one of the basic cultures that originated in Asia—the Moslem. This is evident to anyone who has visited Samarkand or Bukhara. And to whom do Nizami and Avicenna belong—to Iran or Tajikistan? It would be a waste of time to argue the point, but the fact that the question does crop up now and then is in itself indicative. And the same applies to the fact that the Soviet Buryats and Tuvinians are both ethnically and culturally kin to South and East Asian peoples.

And what of the Russians? The Byzantine legacy which Ancient Rus drew on was a unique fusion of the spiritual wealth not only of Europe but of a considerable part of Asia. Russia's connection with Asia was not considered unnatural in the olden days as well. Perfectly natural and logical, therefore, is the concern with Asian affairs displayed by the Soviet Union, in whose political, economic, and cultural life the equal Asian republics play a significant role. This is justified also geographically: for the only ice-free sea lane connecting the western and eastern parts of the U.S.S.R. lies through oceans and seas that wash the shores of Asia.

But how does the United States figure in this, the reader might ask, thereby taking us back to the question of the supposed "confrontation" in Asia.

This is what the picture is like in reality. In Turkey, at the western

extremity of the continent, U.S. military presence is not confined to permanent and official coastal bases. The Pentagon and NATO have contrived to establish increasingly strict control over the interior areas of East Anatolia adjoining the Soviet Caucasus. As for the other end of Asia, the Far East, a U.S. Assistant Secretary of State once wisecracked (not too aptly) that the Far East was "America's Near West." From the standpoint of Pentagon strategy, however, he was not far wrong: the U.S. now has a total of 150,000 troops stationed in this region, more than half of them in close proximity to the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. Not to speak of the U.S. Seventh Fleet which is comparable in strength to the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean. All of which is obviously designed to take the Soviet Union in a pincers from east and west. As a matter of fact, in the not too distant past our country was subjected to aggression from both these directions. Recall if only the period of the Civil War, when Japanese, American and British forces of intervention landed in the Far East, and British and French forces on the Black Sea coast.

Less obvious, perhaps, was the pronounced anti-Soviet character of the militarist preparations by the U.S. in the vicinity of the central part of the Asian continent, which Washington, to paraphrase Churchill, regards as the "soft underbelly" of Asia. In 1983 a new U.S. command was set up, meaningfully called the Central Command, as if to underscore its role as a connecting link in the chain of U.S. foreposts extending from Southwest Asia to the Far East. Besides the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf zone, Pakistan and Afghanistan were officially included in its "sphere of operations." In other words, this "sphere" was extended from the Indian Ocean deep into the interior of Asia, all the way to the Soviet Union's frontiers. The southernmost point in our country—the town of Kushka—is actually closer to the Indian Ocean than the northern limits of this "sphere," which of course figure not only on staff maps. Washington has placed at the disposal of CENTCOM the nearly 300,000-strong Rapid Deployment Force, specially intended for operations in Southwest Asia. Moreover, one of the biggest Asian countries situated near the Soviet frontiers—Pakistan—is being turned into a potential springboard for this force trained and armed not for defensive, but offensive action, for aggression.

And what is there for the United States to defend in these parts so remote from its own territory? Persian Gulf oil? It does not belong to the U.S. and goes mostly to other countries. Or perhaps all these steps are due, as is often claimed, to the presence in Afghanistan of a limited contingent of Soviet troops sent there at the request of the Afghan government? Yet there would be no Soviet troops in Afghanistan had imperialism not unleashed a brutal undeclared war against it after the April revolution of 1978. And the Pentagon knows quite well that the Soviet contingent will be removed when Afghanistan's enemies end that undeclared war.

The thing is that "creeping aggression" is an important element of overall U.S. strategy in Asia, and not only in Asia. Back in 1983 the Washington Post, commenting on statements made by U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Navy Secretary John Lehman, said that both rejected the "one-and-a-half-war" strategy proposed by the Nixon Administration (war against the U.S.S.R. in Europe and a "half-war" somewhere in Asia) and wanted to replace it with the strategy of one big war against the Soviet Union on several fronts distant from one another over the vast land mass of Eurasia. The Soviet Union, according to this strategy, should be deliberately drawn into simultaneous hostilities not only in Europe but also in the Persian Gulf, Northwest Asia and in the open sea.

In conformity with this strategy, two Asian areas—the Far East and the Persian Gulf zone—have been designated as the second and third most important potential theatres of hostilities, after Europe, in a new world war. Not just another war, but a nuclear war, with all the consequences ensuing therefrom. Can the American nuclear weapons deployed thousands of miles away from the United States in areas from which it is a flight not of hours but of minutes to the Soviet frontiers be qualified as anything but offensive, first-strike weapons? Moreover, these weapons are also carried by ships of the Sixth and Seventh fleets and are at the disposal of U.S. troops in South Korea, and elsewhere.

"Tango" of Death

But anyone in Asia who assumes that the nuclear weapons the U.S. has

deployed in various parts of the continent and on neighbouring islands are a threat only to the Soviet Union is at best labouring under a delusion. Take the following facts. Was it a matter of chance that the U.S. atom bomb was first used in Asia, against people of a non-white race? Perhaps. For targets other than Hiroshima were considered at the time—Dresden, for instance. But in the end it was decided not to sacrifice the lives of Europeans on the altar of global atomic blackmail. Why? There were probably many reasons.

But when the use of the nuclear weapon was again mooted, the potential target was also an Asian country—the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. During the Korean war in the early fifties General Douglas MacArthur, then commander of the U.S. forces in the Far East, was empowered to have recourse to an atomic strike even without the consent of the White House. The general quickly drew up a plan for dropping ten 40-kiloton bombs on Pyongyang. If the plan were carried out, its authors estimated, "for every 10,000 troops killed there would have been at least 50,000 civilian dead." And this, according to the Japanese Kyodo Tsushin agency, was regarded as "an important scientific experiment," as is recorded in now declassified Pentagon documents.

The agency reported that a few years later, in 1958, the same U.S. troops in the Far East were put on a "No. 1 alert," again in readiness for nuclear strikes, this time at the People's Republic of China. The plan for the destruction of industrial centres in that country the American generals for some strange reason code-named "Tango," undeterred by the incongruity of the word as applied to a threat "to return China to the Stone Age." The idea of reducing the Asian countries to that state evidently appealed so much to them that later Air Force General Curtis LeMay was to urge that Vietnam then fighting U.S. aggression be "bombed into the Stone Age." As a matter of fact, and that is common knowledge, the use of nuclear weapons against Vietnam was considered more than once.

Less well known is it that the question came up during what would have seemed to be a purely regional conflict between Asians with no direct bearing on the United States—the Indian-Pakistani war of 1971. In a recent interview to UPI, the then U.S. President Richard Nixon said that he had consider-

ed the possible use of nuclear weapons at that time. True, the ex-President did not specify against whom. But in India his belated admission was understood in a very definite sense. "Although Nixon did not say so," the PTI agency commented, "from the context it could be assumed that he was considering the use of nuclear weapons in support of Pakistan."

This summer the U.S. Ambassador in Islamabad publicly stated that Pakistan would not be alone if the situation on its frontiers deteriorated. This was confirmed by an official State Department spokesman. But of course it is not the words that matter. The important thing is that Seventh Fleet ships have latterly been cruising not only in the Pacific but also in the Indian Ocean, skirting Asia from the east, southward and westwards. Incidentally, seven out of ten of its ships carry nuclear weapons. And where if not to the Persian Gulf area, Southeast Asia or the Indian subcontinent could nuclear strikes be delivered during such cruises by carrier-based fighter-bombers? That is the limit of their range. Cruise missiles, too, which are now being deployed on many Seventh Fleet ships have a relatively low speed and a limited radius of action. On the other hand, they can fly so low as to be difficult to detect by radar or to be brought down by anti-aircraft defences.

Or take the latest novelty—a portable nuclear device weighing 25 kilogrammes. To believe Western press reports, such "hand luggage" has been delivered, among others, to the American bases in the Philippines. If so, obviously not to be left lying in check-rooms indefinitely. It is not hard to see where it is easiest to plant them.

Thus, it is becoming increasingly clear that, besides the U.S.S.R. and other countries of the socialist community, the developing Asian countries are the targets of U.S. preparations for aggression in Asia. Including nuclear preparations, which present a direct threat to the security, indeed the very survival, of many Asian peoples. Especially today, when the projected "star wars" weapon systems are intended to be based on installations in waters adjoining Asia, for instance, in the Micronesian archipelagoes. At the same time the Pentagon clearly counts on being able to threaten the Asian countries as well from outer space. This makes the inclusion of Japanese militarism in these plans particularly dangerous.

In short, a double imperialist threat looms over Asia. On the one hand, the Pentagon counts on using various parts of the continent in its preparations for a new world war against the Soviet Union and its allies, and, on the other, on hanging its Damocles' sword over the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of developing countries in order to prevent these countries from pursuing an independent policy and effectively standing up to the neocolonialist designs of monopoly capital.

The point is that the Asian direction in the neocolonialist expansion of the U.S. is increasingly coming to the fore. In 1978 the value of America's exports across the Pacific for the first time exceeded the value of its exports across the Atlantic. In 1983 the difference ran to \$30 billion. Moreover, the price spread is growing between the manufactures exported by the U.S. and the raw materials it imports. An American truck which in 1959 cost the buyer the price of six tons of jute now costs him 26 tons. There has been a sharp growth of the indebtedness of Asian developing countries and, consequently, of their payments on debts. Although some capitalist-oriented Asian countries registered impressive economic headway in the late 1970s and early 1980s, they had to pay dearly for this in terms of encroachments on national independence and rapid social differentiation. Both the one and the other could acquire truly disastrous dimensions if Washington succeeds in involving independent Asian countries in the "Pacific community" it is planning. "This idea," the Indonesian newspaper Merdeka stresses, "boils down to perpetuation of the age of capitalism, which is casting about for new spheres of activity. It is based on economic alliance to be followed by political alliance. Its underlying purport is military alliance." Thus neocolonialism reveals one more of its facets—the militarist danger.

It is this double threat that is the main specific feature of the military-political situation on the Asian continent. In Western Europe there is no neocolonialism, no abject poverty, no bidonvilles and no ruined villages. But there is plenty of all this in Asia, as in Africa and Latin America. There, too, the imperialists are out to prepare in advance a "surgical solution" of explosive problems in order to go on appropriating the fruits of the labour and the natural resources of other peoples. Were a world war to break out, it

would not bypass a single continent. Yet it is only in Asia and Europe that the Pentagon strategists have marked out potential theatres of hostilities for a world war against socialism. Thus, on the world's biggest land mass the tightest and most dangerous knot has been woven, which evidently prompted General Rogers to make his apocalyptic prediction.

But what the American generals discuss with Olympic calm cannot but alarm the public of Asia and cause it to search for a way out.

A Thorny Path But the Only Right One

Let us recall the Pancha Shila principles, the spirit of Bandung. It was not by chance that they sprang up in Asia in the fifties. Later, some 15 years ago, when the White House once again reached out for the bomb, the non-aligned countries of Asia advanced the idea of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. It was soon supported by the U.N. General Assembly, which passed a special resolution on the question. The American opponents of the initiative did everything they could to torpedo it. Nevertheless, it lives. More, it occupies an increasingly prominent place on the diplomatic agenda. In the United Nations, for instance, the overwhelming majority of the members of the world organization are resolutely opposed to any further postponement of the projected international conference on making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and urge that it be held under the auspices of the United Nations in the first half of 1986 as planned.

In 1983 Mongolia put forward a no less far-reaching proposal for the conclusion by all Asian and Pacific states of a convention on non-aggression and non-use of force in their relations with one another. Mention must also be made of such initiatives of local character as the Soviet programme for improving the situation in the Persian Gulf area, Afghanistan's initiative towards normalizing the situation around that country, the Indo-China countries' proposals for Southeast Asia, the ideas advanced by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for making the Korean Peninsula a non-nuclear zone, and the Soviet Union's proposals on confidence-building

measures in the Far East. Underlying them all are the principles of peaceful coexistence, recognition of the existing realities, and the equality of all countries.

The Soviet Union, which invariably supports all constructive initiatives, holds that, on the basis of the proposals already advanced, the cause of security in Asia can and must be carried forward. In Moscow's opinion it is high time to give thought to a common comprehensive approach to this question and to pool the efforts of the Asian countries to this end. The experience of Europe and primarily the Helsinki All-European Conference, the 10th anniversary of which was widely observed recently by the international community, could be useful in this respect. The road to Helsinki, as we know, was not smooth, but awareness that all Europeans are in the same boat ensured the success of the meeting in the end. In Asia, too, direct, open discussions at bilateral and multilateral talks and consultations would be of inestimable value. As CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev said in May, an all-Asian forum could eventually be held for an exchange of opinions and joint search for constructive solutions.

Although not much time has passed since this idea was advanced—much less than is ordinarily needed to get diplomatic initiatives of such scope going—its impact is already making itself felt in Asia. Take if only public sentiment: for instance, at the meeting of the presidential council of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization held in Ho Chi Minh City in late August the new Soviet initiative was widely supported. The public mood has also influenced interstate relations. For example, that basic factor of Asian security, Soviet-Indian cooperation, which has withstood the test of time, is complemented by seemingly less notable but nevertheless highly important factors, such as India's contacts with Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations would unquestionably promote the positive processes in Asia, and not only in Asia. On this score Mikhail Gorbachev has stressed: "Time has shown to both sides that neither has anything to gain from estrangement and still less from unfriendliness, suspicion, whereas good-neighbourly cooperation is perfectly possible and

desirable. We for our part intend to work vigorously so that the negative phase in Soviet-Chinese relations which has given rise to no few artificial accretions should be totally overcome. I am confident that in the final analysis that is how it will be."

On a broader plane as well there are grounds to view with optimism and confidence the evolution of the political situation in Asia. All the more so since events there are not developing in a vacuum. Is such a truly global move by the U.S.S.R. as the moratorium on nuclear testing not an example for all nuclear powers? Total termination by them of nuclear tests, specifically in Asia and the Pacific and the Indian oceans, would unquestionably serve to strengthen Asian security, as would renunciation by the countries of the region of involvement in plans for the militarization of outer space. As like as not it was a coincidence that the states of the South Pacific proclaimed the area, which adjoins Asia, a nuclear-free zone at the very time when the moratorium was announced. But it is a significant coincidence: though the edifice of Asian security exists so far only in blueprint, an important element of its groundwork has been provided in advance by life itself, as it were. That edifice, Moscow believes, could be built on the basis of a conception that "might include the five principles of peaceful coexistence worked out some time ago by Asian states, the ten principles of Bandung and a number of initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Indo-China countries, India and other states of the region relating to problems of security in Asia and to making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, etc."

One can visualize something more than just a peaceful Asia—an Asia all of whose countries and peoples, big and small, work together on the basis of mutual respect to resolve common problems. Incidentally, there is no doubt that a worthy place would be found in it for relations with the United States—equal of course, peaceful and hence the only durable kind of relations.

For peace is both the end and the means, the means to releasing the economic and spiritual potential of the nations." History, economics and sociology offer abundant evidence that in Asia this potential is truly inexhaustible. In coming centuries its peoples could indeed make a gigantic leap to the summits of civilization. A civilization in which no one will enrich himself at the expense of others and when computers and robots will relieve people of backbreaking labour, but not of work as such, not of the means of subsistence. When all the achievements of human genius will be harnessed solely to the service of man, not—to return to the problems of our time—for purposes such as mass annihilation.

Does everything, however, depend on the Asian peoples? Much at any rate does. For one thing, they must realize the need to settle the numerous conflicts which are described in political parlance as local but each of which in the present tense international situation is fraught with global consequences. Of course these conflicts are fanned by the U.S. imperialist quarters—some openly, even provocatively, as, for instance, the "undeclared wars" against Afghanistan and Kampuchea, others surreptitiously, by "indirect action" tactics, like the war between Iran and Iraq. Speaking of the Sikh terrorists, Rajiv Gandhi recently observed: we know where they come from.

Clearly all this is being done not in some nebulous context, divorced from real life with all its contradictions and passions, from the legitimate interests of nations and social groups and the self-seeking designs of the privileged strata, from eruptions of religious fanaticism and the inordinate ambitions of one or another politician; divorced from the conflicts and disputes inherited from colonial and even precolonial times and caused by the population and other "explosions" of our day.

Needless to say, in the present circumstances internecine strife is a

"luxury" the Asian peoples cannot afford. What it leads to is graphically demonstrated by the fate of Lebanon, where the Israeli aggressors capitalize on internal antagonisms. What if bigger countries were to engage in such wars of "each against all"? The peoples of Asia need now as never before a sense of political responsibility, religious tolerance, and ability to subordinate momentary passions to long-term interests. Above all, they need the ability to relegate secondary factors to the background when it is a matter of the top-priority task of strengthening peace and security on the continent. Let us be realistic—all this is not simple. Unfortunately, it is not excluded that many a hard lesson may still have to be learned, but learned they must be, if a return to the Stone Age is to be avoided. And so that the way should be opened to a better life which without doubt could blossom in Asia in a rich profusion of colour.

CSO: 1812/350

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

IMPERIALISM'S 'PREVENTIVE COUNTERREVOLUTION' MEASURES ATTACKED

AU220601 Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 8, Aug 85 (signed to press 26 Jul 85) pp 99-112

[Article by V.P. Davydov, candidate of philosophical sciences: "Imperialism and Preventive Counterrevolution"; capitalized passages published in boldface type; passages within slantlines, published in italics]

[Text] The historical victories of socialism, the further development of the class struggle of the proletariat, the increasingly social nature of national liberation movements, and the weakening of the positions of capitalism in the world arena--all this has caused the most reactionary imperialist circles to turn away from international detente and toward confrontation and increased actions against socialist countries and all progressive forces. "...In the international arena," it was noted in a resolution of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "the struggle between two social systems, two diametrically opposed world outlooks is being sharply exacerbated, on a scale unprecedented throughout the entire postwar period." (Footnote 1) (Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 14-15 June 1983, Moscow, 1983, p 68) The aim pursued by the imperialists is to alter the correlation of class forces in their favor, "place a barrier in the way of progressive changes in the world, and regain their role of deciding people's destiny." (Footnote 2) (Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress, Moscow, 1981, p 21)

The counterrevolutionary strategy of imperialism is aimed at holding back or complicating the development of socialist countries, weakening the anti-imperialist nature of the national liberation struggle, and preventing revolutionary changes in capitalist countries. It envisages ideological, political, economic, military, diplomatic, psychological, and other measures with the aim of blocking revolutionary processes wherever objective and subjective conditions are becoming ripe for such processes. This system of measures is usually characterized as preventive counterrevolution.

The problem of preventive counterrevolution has been raised more than once in literature, and many of its aspects have been subjected to thorough analysis. (Footnote 3) (For example: V.P. Totskiy, the Genesis and Evolution of the 'Brazilian Model' of Development.--LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, 1980, No 4; L. Ya. Dadiani and S.A. Efirov, Contemporary 'Left-Wing' Terrorism: Myth and Reality.--RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR, 1980, No 6; R. Ovinnikov, Behind the Scenes

of Aggressive Washington Policy.--KOMMUNIST, 1981, No 14; N. Yermoshkin, The Neocolonialism of Transnational Corporations.--KOMMUNIST, 1981, No 18; G.A. Grachev, The Impasses of Political Violence. Extremism and Terrorism in the Service of International Reaction. Moscow, 1982). At the same time this subject requires unremitting attention, because, on the one hand, attempts to neutralize revolutionary processes by means of counterrevolutionary forces are becoming increasingly active, and, on the other, painstaking analysis of reactionary actions is essential in order to overcome these actions and to insure the future successes of the revolutionary movement. This article attempts to examine preventive counterrevolution as a system of "precautionary" measures which can theoretically be divided into two spheres: 1) The coordination of counterrevolutionary actions on an international scale with the aim of neutralizing and suppressing revolutionary processes in various countries, 2) the aggregate of the various methods of the struggle waged by reactionary forces against growing or already developed revolutionary actions within capitalist countries: a) the reformative activities of exploitative classes for the sake of preserving the political status quo and preventing social upheavals, and b) the methods of open or disguised pressure exerted by the bourgeois state of left-wing, democratic forces for the purpose of splitting them, discrediting them, weakening their influence, and suppressing them.

The desire to slow down the development of the world revolutionary process is clearly reflected in the sharp increase in the aggressiveness of the policies of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, primarily American imperialism, in the international arena. "The documents of fraternal parties have stressed on more than one occasion," noted M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "that imperialism is trying to carry out social revanche across the broadest possible front: in relation to the socialist community, and against countries liberated from colonial oppression, national liberation movements, and working people in capitalist states." (Footnote 4) (Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 23 April 1985, Moscow, 1985, p 24)

The aggressiveness of imperialism is apparent in the development of an unprecedented arms race; in its intensified political, economic, diplomatic, and psychological pressure on socialist states; in its attempts to complicate the construction of a new society by means of actively supporting counterrevolutionary forces and to thereby reduce the possibilities of socialism exerting an international influence; in its striving to impede the cohesion and consolidation of the influence of the international communist movement and to divide anti-imperialist forces and set them against one another; and in the increased coordination between the actions of imperialism and reactionary forces on an international scale. All these are component parts of the "cru-sade" proclaimed by R. Reagan against communism and all forces of progress. "In their search for ways out of the economic crisis and of counteracting the world revolutionary movement," noted Le Duan, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) at the Fifth CPV Congress, "U.S. imperialists are regrouping their forces, attempting to retain their supremacy within the imperialist system, altering their global counterrevolutionary strategy, and directing the main point of the struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries." (Footnote 5) (Fifth CPV

Congress, Hanoi, 27-31 March 1982, Moscow, 1983, p 93) The strategy of Imperialism wrote R. Arismendi, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, is today not only of a global nature, but also of a "universal nature and is opposed to revolution on all continents." (Footnote 6) (PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1981, No 4, p 44)

[AU220602] Imperialism's opposition to revolution is reflected in the consolidation of interimperialist relations under the aegis of the United States, in the formation of blocs with the most reactionary regimes, and in the creation of an entire network of military-political blocs. One theoretician of this kind on "coordination of actions," the American political scientist R. Cline, as early as the seventies called for the formation of a system of pro-American blocs with the aim, as he writes in his book "World Power Assessment. A Calculus of Strategic Drift," of "preventing the expansion of communist domination." (Footnote 7) (R. Cline, World Power Assessment. A Calculus of Strategic Drift. Boulder, Col., pp 173-4)

This concept is constantly being modernized and concretized. The so-called Santa Fe Committee of the Council for Inter-American Security has drawn up a secret document, "A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties," (Footnote 8) (A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties. The Council for Inter-American Security, Washington, 1980) which sets out recommendations for U.S. actions in Latin America in the "dangerous eighties." The chief recommendation is to "close off in any country on the continent all paths (peaceful and nonpeaceful) capable of bringing the people to power." (Footnote 9) (PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1982, No 1, p 19). In fulfillment of these plans, a military-political group--the "Central American Democratic Association," incorporating El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and Costa Rica--was formed in Central America in the middle of 1982 with the aim of preventing a "Marxist plot" in any of these countries. And at the end of the same year another military bloc was formed from a number of island states in the Caribbean Basin--the so-called "regional system of security and defense" with the task of stifling the growing national democratic movement. It was precisely under cover of this bloc that the United States carried out an armed intervention against Grenada at the end of 1983, an act which angered the whole world and which was aimed at cutting short the revolutionary process, overthrew the democratic government, planted a puppet regime, and set up its own military base on the island.

Interventionist plans of this kind also occur in relation to other regions. The Hoover Institute of War, Peace and Revolution has prepared a document which asserts that U.S. policy in Africa must proceed from the realities of "the struggle for world superiority," which they [as published] supposedly "cannot lose." (Footnote 10) (Cited in KOMMUNIST, 1981, No 14, p 85)

Preparation for forming the "Pacific Ocean Association"--a regional association which must incorporate the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and also ASEAN members--is progressing more and more actively. Such an association would make it conveniently possible for the Pentagon to harness together its Pacific Ocean allies, to link the NATO bloc, ANZUS, and Washington's bilateral alliances with Tokyo and Seoul together in one chain, and, at

the same time, to make the ASEAN states its associates. The United States has recently established "strategic cooperation" with the rascist Republic of South Africa, Israel, Japan, and dictatorial regimes in Central and Latin America, intending to insure its hegemony in the world with their assistance. Aggressive circles of imperialism, and primarily American imperialism, noted G.A. Aliyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in his report at the formal meeting in Moscow dedicated to the 115th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin, "are taking actions leading to an exacerbation of the situation in every aspect.... The methods of state terrorism have been elevated to the rank of official policy." (Footnote 11) (PRAVDA, 23 April 1985)

The coordination of imperialist and reactionary actions is also reflected in the uniting of various political organizations of the exploitative classes. The most reactionary forces are grouping themselves around the "black international"--the association of neofascist parties. (Footnote 12) (L'HUMANITE, 1975, 23 January) In 1976 the European People's Party was formed--an association of Christian Democratic parties of Western Europe. The international Federation of European Liberal Parties was also formed at the same time. In 1978 the European Democratic Union was formed with the participation of parties mainly representing the conservative wing of political forces in Western Europe. (Footnote 13) (The Motivating Forces of the World Revolutionary Process, Moscow, 1981, p 74) At an ordinary conference of the European Democratic Union held in Paris in the middle of 1982, its members agreed on forming a "Conservative International"--an international association which, according to its organizers, would include right-wing parties from all over the world. Its program is openly anticomunist: to struggle against socialism and against all democratic and progressive forces. (Footnote 14) (PRAVDA, 11 July 1982)

[AU220603] The greater coordination between imperialist actions is also reflected in the formation of certain supranational organs. These include the Trilateral Commission (the "Trilateral"), the Bilderberg Club, and various secret Masonic lodges--nongovernmental organizations comprised of influential representatives of big business, military circles, secret services, and also political figures and scientific experts from leading capitalist countries. It is precisely at the "forums" of these organizations that most important economic and political recommendations are made--decisions aimed at weakening the workers movement and preventing revolutionary upheavals in various countries and regions of the world. That "Masonic fraternity in the struggle against the workers class as a whole," which was once pointed out by K. Marx, (Footnote 15) (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Vol 25, Pt 1, p 217) also today finds clear expression in the activities of such organizations.

An important place in the system of preventive counterrevolution is also occupied by subversive actions against revolutionary forces, which are coordinated on an international scale. The present-day inspirers and organizers of these actions are the secret services of imperialist states, which actively form blocs with totalitarian regimes and anticomunist groups for the purpose of conducting secret operations throughout the world. Leaders of the CIA constantly work to increase the potential of this espionage department and

demand the "development of a broad strategy of struggle against the communist threat throughout the world." (Footnote 16) (GRANMA, 3 March 1983) This strategy is realized, in particular, in the formation of "special-purpose troops" which must, in a "critical situation," carry out terrorist operations planned by the CIA in the most diverse regions of the world. For example, General G. Alvares, commander-in-chief of the Honduras Armed Forces, admitted the existence of an agreement, in accordance with which Washington "in the event of necessity will carry out an armed invasion of Central America." (Footnote 17) (PRAVDA, 19 August 1982). It is precisely according to this plan that the Somoza bands make incursions into Nicaragua, with the support of the Honduras military and under the general leadership of the CIA, with the aim of overthrowing the revolutionary government.

Naturally, all this creates considerable difficulties for struggling peoples. The invasion of Grenada by American interventionist forces, noted R. Theodore, secretary general of the Central Committee of the United Party of Haitian Communists, "showed the reality of the threat to peoples in the entire region." (Footnote 18) (Haiti: The Main Task Is the Consolidation of All Democratic Forces.--LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, 1984, No 6, p 92) In El Salvador, communists note, imperialist intervention "is an action which is being carried out in stages." (Footnote 19) (BOLETIN EXTERIOR DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA DE EL SALVADOR, 1980, No 5, p 3) U.S. interference is developing along the same lines as in Vietnam: economic and then military assistance for a puppet government; sending military advisers to lead combat operations against the partisans. In the opinion of Salvadoran communists, the only stage which has not yet begun is "direct armed invasion." (Footnote 20) (BOLETIN DE PRENSA. Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, 1981, No 15, p 3)

However, one important feature should be noted. In recent years a "new" strategy of struggle by imperialism and reaction has been increasingly actively used in the struggle against democratic forces. The essence of this strategy lies in the fact that the main stake is on military means. This is also one of the manifestations of the increased aggressiveness of imperialist policy. In April 1981 the French journal LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE wrote that the new American strategy of anti-insurrectional struggle consists in the following: a) the timely disclosure, arrest, and even murder of suspect figures before they can adopt measures for their defense; b) the emphasis on neutralizing urban insurrections, in contrast to the past when imperialism was mainly alarmed by partisan operations in rural areas; c) the rapid, concentrated deployment of troops; d) the use by the latter of all types of weapons for the purpose of rapidly annihilating "insurrectional forces." To a certain degree, tactics of this kind have already been employed in Oman, Zaire, the Western Sahara, the Republic of South Africa, Namibia, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, and South Korea.

At the same time, today imperialism strives to supplement its violent actions with various methods of ideological pressure and the imposition of its approaches to all social phenomena. It counts on the fact that its concrete actions have solid ideological "backing." The ideological offensive, which has found practical expression in the present "psychological war," has become one of the most important features of imperialism's foreign policy course.

[AU220604] It is totally natural that in such complex and dangerous conditions when counterrevolutionary forces are crossing into the offensive and when they more and more actively coordinate their actions on an international scale, the successful development of the class struggle in any given country depends to a considerable extent on the cohesion of revolutionary, democratic forces both within a national framework and on an international level. Today this is helped by such powerful factors as the expansion and immensification of the world revolutionary process, the drawing together of its main detachments in terms of the social content of their struggle, the internationalization of class battles, the involvement in them of increasingly broad masses of working people, the development of the world communist movement into the most influential force of the contemporary era, and the growth of the power and international influence of real socialism.

The realization by increasingly broad masses of working people of the necessity to unite and coordinate the actions of different detachments of revolutionaries and to give international support to all struggling peoples has today become one of the main features of the revolutionary process. This was once again emphasized by the 26th CPSU Congress, in the work of which the theme of unity of anti-imperialist forces occupied an important place.

(Footnote 21) (Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress, pp 15-19) This has also been attested to by subsequent events. Thus, it was stressed at the international scientific conference "The General and the Particular in the Revolutionary Process of Latin America and the Caribbean" (Havana, 1982) that recently "not only leaders or individual organizations, but also entire peoples understand to an increasing extent that the unity of /national, regional, and world revolutionary processes is of an objective nature."/ (Footnote 22) (PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1982, No 9, p 49)

Realization of this fact is helped to a decisive extent by the experience itself of the international class struggle. The Israeli intervention in Lebanon with active U.S. support, the Falklands crisis, and the struggle of the peoples of Central America have shown revolutionary and all progressive, democratic forces that without overcoming differences, without the unity and mutual support of fighters against imperialism holding different political and ideological views, it is impossible to successfully oppose imperialist aggression.

That is why these and many other events serve as an incentive for the unity of anti-imperialist forces. The process of consolidating fighters against imperialism in the Middle East is intensifying. This is reflected in joint analysis by communists, revolutionary democrats, and national-patriotic forces of the sociopolitical situation in the region and the reasons for the absence of unity; in the search for ways of achieving this unity with the aim of rebuffing Israeli diktat; in the development of joint measures aimed at a just settlement of the Middle East crisis; in the coordination of actions in the diplomatic arena and in international organizations; and in increased attempts to rely on other revolutionary forces and on real socialism in their just struggle. The declaration adopted at the meeting held in the middle of 1984 between representatives of communist and workers parties from Arab countries notes that the intrigues of American imperialism against the Arab

national liberation movement are a component part of the "policy of aggression and nuclear confrontation conducted by the United States in the world arena in an attempt to establish its hegemony." (Footnote 23) (PRAVDA, 19 Jun 84) In the present complex situation communists in Arab countries consider their most important task to be that of strengthening the unity of Arab national-patriotic forces.

The active process of uniting anti-imperialist forces is also taking place in Latin America. In recent years, it was noted in the declaration of the Conference of Communist Parties of South American Countries which was held in July 1984 in Buenos Aires, important and positive changes have taken place in this region in the development of the democratic process. At the same time the belief was expressed that "further strengthening political and trade union unity both on a national scale and throughout the whole of Latin America will make it possible for the workers class to make a decisive contribution to the triumph and consolidation of democracy and will insure the implementation of revolutionary changes in our countries." (Footnote 24) (PRAVDA, 8 Aug 84) This is helped to a considerable extent by the powerful movement of solidarity with struggling peoples. The chief force in this movement are working people and mass proletarian and popular organizations, of which communists form the vanguard.

The CPSU and communist parties in the countries belonging to the socialist community give resolute support to the people's just struggle and give them moral and material assistance. "The Soviet Union has always supported people's struggle for liberation from colonial oppression," it was noted at the March (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "And today our sympathies lie with the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America which are following a path of strengthening their independence and social renewal. For us they are friends and partners in the struggle for lasting peace and better, just relations between peoples." (Footnote 25) (Materials of the Extraordinary CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 11 March 1985, Moscow, 1985, p 11).

[AU220605] Particular attention was devoted to examining and working out an entire complex of practical actions and organizational measures connected with activating opposition to interference by imperialism and reaction in the internal affairs of sovereign states at a conference of secretaries of the Central Committees of communist and workers parties in socialist countries held in Moscow in March 1983. The participants in the conference noted the necessity to resolve by political rather than military means both existing military conflicts in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and conflicts which could arise, and, once again, they gave their resolute support for fighters against imperialism. (Footnote 26) (PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1983, No 5, p 38)

The declaration "The Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation" adopted by participants in the Top-Level Economic Conference of CEMA Member-Countries held in June 1984 noted that the peoples of the countries belonging to the socialist community "decisively condemn and reject policies aimed at undermining the peaceful foundations of interstate relations and are opposed to all forms of exploitation and any attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries." (Footnote 27) (Top-Level Economic

Conference of CEMA Member-Countries, 12-14 June 1984. Documents and Materials, Moscow, 1984, p 31)

The actions of the most reactionary circles of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the international arena fully reflect the general trend of their efforts within a national framework. The June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted the deepening general crisis of the capitalist system, which finds expression, in particular, in the fact that "the methods, with the help of such capitalism has managed to maintain relative stability in its development in the postwar period, are increasingly losing their effectiveness." (Footnote 28) (Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 14-15 June 1983, pp 23-4) That is why recently the economic, social, military, and other policies of the ruling classes in capitalist countries have in many ways been aimed precisely at preventing phenomena in any sphere of social life which could prove--if only in the long-term--dangerous for them. In this respect the bourgeoisie is well aware that in contemporary conditions it cannot rely on the uncontrolled development of events and that it must actively show a "firm hand," so to speak, and pursue its own line or else events cannot be kept within the limits it needs.

How is this implemented in practice? "...In all countries the bourgeoisie inevitably develops two systems of government, two methods of struggling for its own interests and defending its supremacy...", noted V.I. Lenin. "These are, first, the method of violence, the method of rejecting any concessions to the workers movement, the method of supporting all old and obsolete institutions.... The second method is the method of 'liberalism,' of steps in the direction of developing political rights, in the direction of reform, concessions, and so forth." (Footnote 29) (V.I. Lenin, Complete Collected Works, Vol 20, p 67) It should be noted that, as a rule, in a period of economic recession and exacerbation of the domestic socioeconomic situation, the bourgeois-liberal trend undergoes a crisis and gradually gives way to the conservative trend, and there is a more or less broad transition to governing chiefly by the "method of violence."

In the eighties this has found expression in the attempts by the bourgeoisie and its ideological-political representatives to "conduct a long-term policy aimed at moving the general axis of internal political development in developed capitalist countries to the right and edging left-wing democratic forces to the sidelines of political life." (Footnote 30) (S. Peregudov, on Bourgeois Tactics in the Conditions of the Deepening General Crisis of Capitalism (Domestic Policy Aspect), MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, 1984, No 10, p 113) "Directional government" in the name of avoiding crises is proclaimed as the aim of bourgeois domestic policy. This policy presupposes involving certain strata of the population in various forms of bourgeois-reformative activity. The bourgeois concept of "participation" in the management of enterprises, the distribution of incomes, and so forth is particularly made extensive use of for this purpose. This kind of involvement of the masses reflects the desire on the part of the ruling classes to limit action by working people to the "rules of the game," gain control over them by means of "democratizing" social life, and generally represent the interests of different classes not as antagonistic but, on the contrary, as coinciding.

In actual fact, this kind of "democratization" signifies the formation of diverse groups, parties, and movements, that is, the insuring of "pluralism" and the "free," "peaceful" functioning of all classes and strata with the aim of dissolving vanguard parties of the workers class in this conglomerate of movements. Such is the general trend of rationalizing the entire system of suppressing and oppressing the workers class and working people and, at the same time, of disguising the dominant class position of the bourgeoisie.

[AU220606] In this respect one must also examine the extensive use by the monopolist bourgeoisie and social-reformist ideologists of the policy of "national unity," "uniting the efforts of the entire nation" in the face of the "Soviet military threat," foreign exchange disorders, foreign competition, and so forth, and also the modernization of the policy of social partnership. Now the accent is placed on "humanizing" relations between hired workers and the administration-management apparatus and employers. This kind of "direct contact" and the formation at enterprises of autonomous worker groups, "suggestion boxes," various kinds of committees (for the improvement of working conditions, rest, the use of work time and free time, and so forth), and autonomous trade unions serves the purpose of imparting a bland class flavor to any worker initiative, detaching the working people from the trade unions as an instrument for protecting their class interests, that is, liquidating the very possibility of collective opposition to the masters. In this lies one of the reasons for the sharp increase in attacks on the institution of collective agreements and for the accusations made against communist parties and trade unions under their influence that they lack the ability to adapt to "changed conditions." Such outwardly liberal policies in actual fact reduce the achievements of the masses, bring disorder to the ranks of the working people, and undermine the foundations of the alliance of forces opposed to large capital--an alliance which is forged from below in the course of strengthening the unity of actions of the working people and their struggle for democratic changes.

Whereas in capitalist countries with bourgeois-democratic traditions, bourgeois tactics consist in cutting off existing freedoms which, in the opinion of the bourgeoisie, threaten the very foundations of the capitalist world, with regard to very harsh dictatorships it is a question of softening them. This is by no means the result of a desire to give dictatorial regimes a human face, rather it is an attempt to find a softer equivalent to existing systems which, by virtue of their instability, pose a certain danger to these countries themselves. Consequently, the aforementioned Trilateral Commission, for example, has developed a definite methodology of replacing dictatorships when they have already served their purpose and can no longer "rest on their bayonets." It has been put to the test in Greece, Spain and Brazil, and is now being tested in Chile, Central American countries, the Sudan to a certain extent, and so forth.

The aim of such attempts at all times is to "leap over revolution." (Footnote 31) (V.I. Lenin, Complete Collected Works, Vol 12, p 6). How? By means of preventing the arising of a situation characteristic, for example, of Nicaragua on the eve of the revolution, when, for the exploitative classes, it can only be a question of either the establishment of a fascist regime or a

popular revolution. And for this purpose various attempts are made to consolidate the economic power of "neocapitalism" by means of modernizing the form of political domination by the bourgeoisie. This kind of "improvement" can take place: a) by means of direct interference by international imperialism; b) by means of activating the "stabilizing" activities of transnational corporations; c) by means of reformism; d) by means of increasing the role of the army, which recently has the tendency to develop into a permanent state military-political institution as the guarantor of the entire system, that is, it is simply becoming an instrument of preventive counterrevolution. Thus, H. Kutlu, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey, noted that the tasks of the party formulated in its new program (the formation of broad alliances of peace-loving and antidictatorial forces, the raising of the level of the masses' struggle, and so forth) were determined while taking into account the consequences of the military coup in the country in September 1980, "which was a preventive counterrevolution and led to the establishment of a dictatorship in the country--a dictatorship which later assumed a fascist nature." (Footnote 32) (H. Kutlu, Expounder of the Interests of the Masses, PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1984, No 3, p 29)

The struggle between openly fascist and conservative- "liberal" forces follows various versions of preventing revolutionary actions by the masses. Many bourgeois authors who have researched the causes of the revolution in Nicaragua single out the main cause as being the contradiction between the old-style dictatorship controlled by the United States and "groups of the higher class" whose economic interests were limited by the Somoza clan. (Footnote 33) (T. Harding, the Nicaraguan Events--AUSTRALIAN LEFT REVIEW, Sydney, 1978, No 67, p 29; N. Pearson, Nicaragua in Crisis--CURRENT HISTORY, Philadelphia, 1979, No 444, pp 78-9) Others, on the other hand, see the reason as being the ossification of the contradictions between the regime and the "middle class." (Footnote 34) (R. Fagen, Dateline Nicaragua: The End of the Affair--FOREIGN POLICY, Washington, 1979, No 36, p 183) Apart from the fact that this is simply untrue, it is important to perceive a common tendency. And this tendency is that such authors virtually give a direct recommendation to other totalitarian regimes (and the U.S. administration) not to permit such a state of affairs--to preventively "remove" contradictions that may appear, without letting things get as far as an explosion. What is more, some bourgeois authors, aware that revolution is a product of a country's internal development and not of the "export of revolution," opposes ultraconservatives with their myth of a "struggle against communism," because this "impedes the implementation of timely reforms aimed at avoiding social explosions." (Footnote 35) (CARIBBEAN REVIEW, 1979, No 3, p 23)

[AU220607] That is why now here, now there ruling circles attempt to carry out pseudoreforms with the aim of lowering the temperature of the class struggle. Today this is characteristic of Uruguay and the Republic of South Africa. In Egypt, communists note, the policy of President Mubarak and his new assistants "is to hold the weapon of repressions at the ready, but to accent on political maneuvering." (Footnote 36) (PROBLEMY MIA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1984, No 3, p 65)

The successes of revolutionary patriotic forces in El Salvador and the discrediting of the ruling regime have compelled U.S. imperialists and local reactionaries to resort to falsifying elections, simulate a desire for democratization, and invent new "reforms" while taking pains to try to isolate patriots from the masses. "Our policies," communists note, "are aimed at using the slightest chance to achieve peace through negotiations. However, the enemy forces us into war. And in this historic battle, revolutionary forces more and more convincingly demonstrate that they are able to firmly uphold their positions. This course has already tangibly borne fruit. The working people are rallying more closely around their combat vanguard. Our desire for a political settlement is shared by the Salvadoran Catholic Church and the masses of believers. The circle of those who are working for peace, justice, democracy, and protection of the motherland against imperialist interference is widening." (Footnote 37) (PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1983, No 4, p 65).

The people's struggle against the Pinochet regime in Chile is also being stepped up. Communists note that Latin American fascism is not succeeding in drawing over to its side the national bourgeoisie, which is becoming increasingly at variance with it. The people also reject fascism. (Footnote 38) (ESTUDIOS, 1982, No 83, p 94) Having experienced for themselves all the charms of "accelerated capitalist modernization" with its blatant social inequality, the middle strata of the population, to say nothing of the workers class, are becoming more and more involved in the struggle against antinational regimes.

And this struggle enjoys success. Thus, in Brazil at the end of the seventies, in their attempts to prevent a revolutionary explosion, the military regimes gambled on carrying out a "controlled liberalization." However, this process was basically wrecked by the broad national movement to restore democracy. Utilizing the situation that had taken shape, communists set the aim of turning the struggle to legalize the party into a nationwide movement for the total absolution of repressive legislation, for the formation of representative organs freely elected by the people, and for the establishment of the most extensive democracy--an essential condition of successful struggle against imperialism and internal reaction creating the possibility of making the transition to revolutionary changes by unarmed means.

One of the main means of "preventing revolution" for reactionary forces has always been (and still is to this day) the establishment of totalitarian military regimes. Bourgeois ideologists and "practitioners" themselves are forced to admit that "the military is the last barrier against the threat of Marxism-Leninism." (Footnote 39) (U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 26 Jan 81, p 37) This is so-called "institutionalized terrorism"--terrorist activities by bourgeois state organs and by organizations either supported or inspired by them, which are directly aimed at suppressing revolutionary forces. Right-wing dictators in countries such as Guatemala, for example, note Latin American communists, fully share the determination of the American administration "not to permit new Cubas or Nicaraguas on the continent," and consequently pursue a course of state terrorism. (Footnote 40) (PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1982, No 5, p 21)

A reactionary military preaches an ideological doctrine of a "home front" and "national security." In accordance with this the army is not called upon to fight an external enemy, but the "subversive activities of communists," which supposedly threaten the very foundations of "Western civilization." That is why, in countries with dictatorial regimes, in the struggle for their overthrow revolutionary forces frequently have no course other than "criticism through arms" and mass armed insurrection. "As before, tyranny stubbornly closes off all paths for legal activity by opposition forces," note Paraguay communists. "In such conditions it is necessary to actively prepare to overthrow the dictatorship by combining all forms of struggle and orienting ourselves toward a general popular uprising." (Footnote 41) (PROBLEMY MIRAI SOTSIALIZMA, 1983, No 10, p 73)

A similar situation has also taken shape in southern Africa. Here racists have formed special detachments of "kovets" [word as transliterated] ("lock-pick") with the aim of discrediting the national-patriotic organization of Namibia--SWAPO--by means of terror accompanied by extensive use of psychological methods. Some of the agents operating as regular units of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia openly engage in murders; others disguise themselves as SWAPO supporters." Unemployed blacks are forced to cooperate with the police, and those who refuse are exterminated as "SWAPO agents." The aim of these and many other actions is to create a situation of confusion, chaos, and disorder in the country, set people against one another, and disarm them psychologically. The military of the Republic of South Africa does not conceal its aims in relation to Namibia, impudently saying: "We want an anti-Soviet black government." (Footnote 42) (A.Yu. Urnov, the Policies of the Republic of South Africa in Africa, Moscow, 1982, p 241) R. Botha, minister of foreign affairs and information for the Republic of South Africa, admitted that for the sake of the struggle against SWAPO, racists were "prepared to interfere wherever terrorists would find refuge." (Footnote 43) (PRAVDA, 3 May 83).

[AU220608] However, today struggling peoples are not alone. All progressive forces on earth, and primarily communists and the peoples of socialist countries, actively support their just cause. "The Soviet Union and other socialist countries," stressed M.H. Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia and chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia, at a constituent congress of the party of the Working People of Ethiopia, "acted on the side of the Ethiopian revolution and gave it firm support when international imperialism began a war against us on all fronts, attempting, with the support of reactionary forces, to halt the course of the revolution and violate the country's territorial integrity. We have reached the present stage, at which we can form a vanguard party, as a result of the heroic struggle of Ethiopian revolutionaries and the popular masses, and thanks to the limitless support of our brothers who are loyal to the principle of proletarian internationalism." (Footnote 44) (PRAVDA, 8 Sep 84)

An important place in the struggle to strengthen solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa was occupied by the international conference held in Paris in April 1983 in support of the just cause of the Namibian people, in which

delegations from more than 120 states participated. The declaration adopted decisively supports the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people for independence and sharply condemns the provocative policies of the racist regime of apartheid. As a practical measure the conference adopted a detailed program of action for the movement of solidarity with the Namibian people.

(Footnote 45) (PRAVDA, 30 Apr 83)

In the conditions of the sharply exacerbated class struggle in the world arena, international solidarity acquires exceptionally great significance. And because the struggle for unity of actions between antidemocratic parties, it is precisely against these parties that reaction mainly directs its counterrevolutionary actions. Imperialists strive in every way to weaken communist parties and undermine their influence among the working masses. A U.S. National Security Council directive defines the main areas of undermining activity against the communist movement as follows: 1) artificially creating and utilizing the difficulties of world communism; 2) discrediting the world communist movement, contributing to weakening its influence, and undermining the strength of communist parties and organizations; 3) lowering the level of proliferation of communist ideology in any region of the world. (Footnote 46) (PRAVDA, 2 May 83)

In general, as E. Wimmer, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria, justly notes, imperialism "STRIVES TO SUPPRESS AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE ANY DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS BY UTILIZING EVERY AVAILABLE MEANS.... Imperialism tries to suppress revolutionary actions when the battle for frontline fortifications has only just flared up." (Footnote 47) (PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1982, No 4, p 42) Consequently, the bourgeois mass information media occupy a special place in the entire system of measures to carry out preventive counterrevolution. The media's ideological influence is aimed at politically and spiritually enslaving working people in capitalist countries. In an attempt to spiritually enslave the masses, keep their awareness at a relatively low level of development, intensify the heterogeneity of their awareness, and "dissolve" and "erode" this awareness in other types of social consciousness, including on-class types, everything possible is done to reduce, damp down, and freeze the social activeness of the proletariat, foster consumer stereotypes in the proletariat, force it into the procrustean bed of philistine morals, squeeze its struggle into the channel of purely economic demands, and in no way allow it to develop into a "class unto itself" or to acquire the force of a "grave digger of capitalism." The American researcher D. Dowd frankly admits that "the strength of American capitalism" in many ways lies in its "ability to turn almost the entire population into voluntary ideological prisoners and to thereby alter and distort that 'class consciousness' which, as Marx believed, must help to overthrow capitalism." (Footnote 48) (MONTHLY REVIEW NEW YORK, 1982, Vol 33, No 11, p 15)

However, the mass information media do not only dull the perceptions of the masses and corrupt and estrange them. In the hands of police organs the media becomes an effective instrument of deception and intermediation. The English publicist T. Bayan, who has studied the functioning of the British secret services for a long time, in his book "The History and Practice of the

"Political Police in Britain" proves on the basis of documentary facts that whereas earlier the main sphere of their activities was the struggle against an external threat, now a considerable proportion of their work is connected with internal affairs; the task of these organs is to "oppose the internal enemy," uphold the status quo when social conflicts become aggravated, and "prevent by means of counterrevolutionary preparations any possibility of capitalism being overthrown." (Footnote 49) (T. Bayan, *The History and Practice of the Political Police in Britain*, London, Quartet Books, 1977, p 266)

[AU220609] It is far from in Britain alone that matters stand thus. A system of total surveillance and control has become a characteristic feature of all capitalist countries. "Society under surveillance"--thus they are characterized by bourgeois ideologists themselves. All information on citizens collected with the aid of various means and methods is used to discredit, defame, and undermine the prestige of democratic forces, primarily communist parties, and to split and weaken them. This is another important aspect of preventive counterrevolution.

K. Marx once pointed out that preventive measures against parties of the workers class are nothing other than "the war cry of violent counterrevolution against 'peaceful' development. In actual fact the government attempts to /violently/ suppress development it does not welcome but which, from the standpoint of the /law/, is invulnerable. Such is a necessary introduction to violent revolution." (Footnote 50) (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Vol 45, p 143)

Today the most refined methods are used for suppressing democratic opposition and undermining the influence of left-wing forces. Here are some of them: sending provocateurs and intelligence agents into communist parties; forming fictitious organizations which exist only on paper; setting left-wing organizations against one another, right-wing extremist organizations against left-wing ones, and the mafia against communist parties; breaking up meetings and gatherings; intimidating and organizing attacks on communists; and depriving them of work by means of various kinds of "public employment bans."

The constantly intensifying campaign to maliciously run down the state of affairs in socialist states, and also the distortion of the essence of actions to defend the achievements of working people in Poland, Cuba, Nicaragua, Cambodia, and other countries are aimed at weakening communist and other left-wing parties in capitalist countries. Unconstrained in expression, bourgeois propaganda intimidates the Western man-on-the-street wars and partisan terror supposedly practiced throughout the world by Marxist-Leninists who, with the "aid of a global conspiracy," are allegedly attempting to force their ideology and "totalitarian authority" on mankind. In Japan reactionaries spread the slander that violence is supposedly the basis of communist policy. In Britain, without a twinge of conscience, the bourgeois press claims that "in the very first years after the bolsheviks came to power, the problem of the general extermination of dissidents was placed on the agenda" and that "communism has always been an ideology of destruction

and hatred." (Footnote 51) (DAILY TELEGRAPH, 19 Mar 79) Positive changes in the policies of the Labor Party immediately give rise to a stream of maxims in the bourgeois press of this "democratic" country concerning "aggressively-minded left-wingers with an intolerant attitude toward those who do not agree with them" and their "clear preference for totalitarian communism rather than liberal capitalism." (Footnotes 52) (THE TIMES, 4 Oct 80)

In its attempts to lower the temperature of the class struggle, the monopolist bourgeoisie makes extensive use of both right-wing and leftist terrorism--a phenomenon which has become widespread in the conditions of the permanent crisis of capitalism and the intensifying processes of inflation, unemployment, and political instability. H. Mies, the chairman of the German Communist Party, justly noted that, objectively speaking, neofascists are the political reserves of the monopolies. (Footnote 53) (KOMMUNIST, 1979, No 3, p 92)

How is neofascism advantageous to the monopolist bourgeoisie? First, by its rabid anticommunism, revanchism, and striving to redraw postwar boundaries in Europe. Second, by its support for leftist organizations. What is more, some leftist groups were formed by neofascists or CIA agents. That is why, communists note, whereas terrorism of a neofascist nature is openly hostile to socialism as such, "left-wing" terrorism is, in fact, objectively speaking, also opposed to socialism in general by working against the prospects of democratic progress toward socialism. (Footnote 54) (A. Minucci, Terrorism and the Italian Crisis, Rome, 1978, p 17) Third, right-wing and leftist groups attract the ruling classes by their aspiration to form a united front against "Moscow's expansionism" and against revolutionary forces.

Well aware of the serious negative consequences of such an association supported in every possible way by internal and imperialist reactionaries, communist parties in capitalist countries are stepping up the struggle against right-wing and "left-wing" dangers. Thus, communists in Ecuador note that "various circles of the bourgeoisie, alarmed by the increasing disorder of the present system and by the exacerbated domestic political situation, are uniting and even forming semimilitary detachments--the germ of fascist movement.... The very fact of their appearance still more insistently underlines the necessity for broad democratic unity." (Footnote 55) (PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1982, No 11, p 85) [AU220610] The achievement of this unity and the comprehensive activation of the struggle of the broad popular masses in all the forms possible in the concrete historical conditions is becoming a guarantee of the neutralization of all preventive counterrevolutionary actions by reactionaries and of the triumph of democratic forces. Such has been the case in Cuba and Nicaragua. This is also attested to by the experience of class struggle in El Salvador, Guatemala, and other countries. "In the course of antidictator battles," communists in Guatemala note, for example, "left-wing forces are imbued with the necessity to urgently resolve their cardinal problems, primarily that of achieving unity without any exceptions. This has already made it possible for us to increase the combat efficiency of our organizations, concentrate their growing potential, and channel it into resolving the common task--overthrowing the dictatorship and establishing a people's government." (Footnote 56) (PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1982, No 5, p 21)

The people's struggle against reaction and counterrevolution, and for national independence and social progress meets with constant, active support from the CPSU and all Soviet people. The Soviet state expends vast efforts to prevent a nuclear war and preserve and consolidate peace on earth. Only if the collective efforts of all democrats are stepped up can the international situation be radically improved and the "crusade" of imperialism foiled. Precisely the coordinated actions of anti-imperialist forces can prevent new, aggressive intrigues by reactionaries, give effective assistance to struggling peoples, and wreck the preventive counterrevolutionary attempts of imperialism.

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CSO: 1807/10

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

WASHINGTON'S CONTROL OVER INFORMATION ATTACKED

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 9 Aug 85 pp 1-7

[Article by N. Yermoshkin: "Washington's Ideological Expansion in the Third World"]

[Text] A phenomenon that took shape 100 years ago was aptly called "spiritual militarism." Much has changed since then. Pigeon post and telegraphy have been replaced by electronics and satellites. Over 100 national information agencies are now functioning throughout the world. The socialist world does not depend on capitalist mass media. But information imperialism is still exerting its pressure on two-thirds of the world population, particularly Afro-Asian and Latin American nations.

The West uses the false doctrine of having a free flow of information to retain its influence ideologically. Coupled with political and military pressure, this enables Western powers to continue exploiting the natural and manpower resources of their former colonies and rob Afro-Asian and Latin American nations on an unprecedented scale.

Many Afro-Asian and Latin American nations still have to judge world developments from the reports of four leading Western news agencies: AP, UPI, Reuters and France Presse. These information TNCs daily produce 45 million words, interpreting international events in the light that suits them.

Some 100 American, British and French newspapers and magazines have special editions to be circulated abroad. Thirteen million copies of Reader's Digest are circulated outside the United States. Time, Newsweek, and the Economist are also sent to many countries. The American newspaper International Herald Tribune is published in Paris specially for foreigners.

Other Western periodicals are spreading out. The Washington Post and Los Angeles Times annually supply articles ready for publication to newspapers and magazines of 40 countries. These articles contain political and ideological recommendations. Similar "services" are rendered by The Times of London and the Paris-based Le Monde.

As a result, the flow of information from leading capitalist countries exceeds 100 times over the volume of information going in the opposite direction, though the greater part of mankind lives in the Third World. Any attempt to do away with dependence in the field of information, through establishing or strengthening national agencies is qualified by Western press barons as an "utter violation of the freedom of information."

Western expansion is largely facilitated by the technical dependence of liberated countries on Western multinationals who manufacture printing equipment, paper, radio and TV equipment and dominate in the field of advertisement. Multinationals, the most powerful and rapacious corporations of the contemporary capitalist world, actually control international mass media which play a great role in the ideological, economic, social, military and, in the final count, political spheres.

In its ideological aggression the West attaches great importance to radio and television in liberated countries. These mass media are especially efficient because of the extremely low level of literacy there. People in out-of-the-way African or Asian settlements can listen for hours to programs relayed from Paris, Washington or London. The share of such programs is up to 90%. Every year American radio and TV companies sell and disseminate in over 130 countries various material to more than 250,000 hours air time; and British and French television for 30,000 hours each. The programs transmitted through American communication satellites, in a number of cases without local authorities' consent, make the television of some liberated countries even more dependent in this field.

Western companies are also establishing their control over book publishing. According to some sources, American publishers alone annually sell several hundred million dollars' worth of their output in liberated countries. Hearst Corporation, for example, distributes upward on 15 million copies of books, strip cartoons, manuals and other printed matter every month.

French and British publishers have retained and even consolidated their standings in former African colonies. The 320 African publishing houses account for nearly 10% of the books issued on the continent while 10 foreign publishers put out the rest. Western publishers continue flooding Africa with manuals and other books glorifying the cultural and social values of capitalism.

While carrying out its ideological offensive against the Third World, the West pays special attention to the cinematographic industry. Even India, which leads the world in number of motion pictures released, suffers from the domination of Hollywood productions. The situation is simply wretched in Nepal, Sudan, Chad and other countries who do not have cinematographic industries of their own.

Western advertising in liberated countries acts as a strike ideological weapon for imperialist propaganda. Western corporations possess vast means and have turned this inevitable element of contemporary capitalism

into a crafty instrument. Much of the funds for advertising comes from multinationals. Therefore even the progressive press in the East has to publish Western firms' advertisements for financial considerations. Western multinationals' advertisements also infiltrate radio and television programs in liberated countries. In this way money is used to disseminate capitalist ideology and morality, consumerist views, and false social criteria for justice, freedom and well-being.

But even such all-embracing penetration into the mass media and culture of liberated nations does not seem enough to imperialist powers. Imperialism propaganda spares no expenses on the ideological brainwashing of people in both Western and liberated countries. The United States annually allocates about \$5 billion to its propaganda abroad, which is much more than its assistance to the African nations. The official American propaganda service USIA is going to spend as much as \$796 million this year. USIA has about 9,000 persons on the staff, issues 64 magazines in 26 languages, releases some 100 motion pictures annually and uses ramified radio and teletype communication. About 1,700 programs, from TV news in brief to full-length documentaries are annually supplied to the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries where USIA branches function officially or under the umbrella of US Embassies.

The CIA is also carrying out vast work in this field through secret channels. One-third of its huge budget is meant for the so-called dissemination of information outside the United States. The CIA conducts subversive operations against countries whose policies or socio-political systems do not suit Washington. One example of such subversion is the recent issuance by the CIA of a "manual" for the Nicaraguan contras. Similar "manuals" were used by the US Army during its war in Vietnam.

(Sovetskaya Kultura, July 18, 1985, Abridged.)

Washington's Ideological Expansion in the Third World

To draw media attention to some or other events, experts on psychological warfare use "leaks of secret information" which they arrange themselves. Through such "secret data," they spread concoctions about "communist intrigues" in certain areas of the globe and Nicaraguan "military reparations." "Secret information" from "satellite reconnaissance" about the building of military installations in various countries and "extracts" from "confidential conversations" are also made public.

The Paris-based International Herald Tribune noted that American intelligence has used for its purposes about 800 news media, including more than 400 magazines. According to former CIA official Philip Agee, almost 2,000 CIA staffers and agents work for the press, more than half of them outside the United States. Even the world's leading news agencies have a smaller staff.

The Pentagon is trying to "keep pace" with the CIA. While using the presence of its troops in foreign countries, it publishes there over 1,000 newspapers, nearly 400 magazines, and various bulletins to a total circulation exceeding 12 million. More than \$300 million is spent on this activity. One of the Pentagon's latest propaganda initiatives is the elaboration of directives on coverage of combat operations of the American armed forces by the country's media. In keeping with this document, the Pentagon intends to set up groups of American newsmen, TV and radio commentators who will be secretly informed of the planned military operations and sent to the zones of hostilities with American troops. Of course, only carefully vetted "journalists" are included in these groups.

In its present-day crusade against the progressive nations, imperialism increasingly relies on overt psychological warfare, excessive use of the media, and large scale ideological intrigues by its propaganda machinery. The press, radio, television and news agencies of imperialist countries ever more often interfere in the domestic affairs of sovereign nations and sow hostility and mistrust among them. This is done to disguise Washington's striving for world hegemony and create the impression that the crazy arms drive is inevitable, military force is the sole political lever and racism and chauvinism are part and parcel of international relations.

Imperialism is fiercely attacking patriotic and democratic forces in an effort to halt or at least impede the progressive development of Afro-Asian and Latin American nations and isolate them from the USSR and other socialist countries. To this end it resorts to lies and misinformation and capitalizes on all kinds of political prejudices and ignorant views. These methods have become an integral part of the policy of Washington and its Western allies.

The West's "unbiased" reports focus on putsches, intertribal massacres, earthquakes, inundations, accidents, and intercommunity clashes. They hush up real political, economic and cultural problems and processes and present the cultural life of Eastern nations as something primitive. Information on the government's efforts to settle national problems is ignored or treated skeptically. Liberated countries' successes are either not mentioned or attributed to "Western assistance." All this is accompanied by glorification of the Western way of life which, in the West's view, should be a "model" for the former colonies.

Attempts to distort actual developments are combined with fierce attacks on revolutionary reforms in any spot of the globe.

Democratic Afghanistan is one of the main objects of these attacks. Imperialist powers have set up around it a solid "sanitary cordon" of misinformation and brought down oceans of lies on world public opinion. If we sum up all data on the losses of Afghan revolutionary forces published by the Western capitalist press in recent years, the country's population has been killed two and its troops destroyed five times over (sic). The Western press juggles with facts, roughly distorts real

events and resorts to half-truth and overt slander in an attempt to break the Afghan people's will. The volume of anti-Afghan propaganda has gone up 30 times in the last five years. Practically all Western Radio stations broadcast subversive programs in various languages spoken in Afghanistan. Their duration has reached 100 hours a day. Imperialism is ever more actively combining diplomacy of threats and state-sponsored terrorism with ideological intrigues.

Liberated countries are increasingly opposing the West's cultural aggression. This is manifest in their efforts for a new international order that would rule out unequal exchange of information and the threat to their national cultures. A number of conferences, symposia and seminars set by UNESCO within the framework of nonalignment show that liberated countries are stepping up these efforts and coming to realize their importance for true liberation from imperialism's oppression in the cultural and economic fields.

The first meeting of journalists from nonaligned countries in New Delhi in December 1983 and a conference of nonaligned information ministers in Jakarta in January 1984 were significant events in this respect. The two forums noted that relations in the field of international media should be based on principles of cooperation. Developing nations should widen their exchanges in all spheres of information. The pooling of developing countries' news agencies and broadcasting companies and the agreement on information exchange between individual Asian and African states are the first successful steps towards banishing the West from the ideological field.

The Afro-Asian and Latin American countries can view the USSR and other socialist nations as reliable allies who are really helping them do away with colonial oppression in the cultural field. Without any preliminary terms, the USSR assists a number of countries in building and operating land-based space communication centres, TV studios, radio stations, radio and TV set plants and printing houses. Journalists, theatre and movie actors, printing industry workers and experts on communications are trained for developing countries at Soviet institutions of higher learning. Soviet people back Afro-Asian and Latin American countries' efforts to set up their own news media, bar themselves from imperialism's ideological expansion and put an end to colonial dependence in the cultural field.

(Sovetskaya Kultura, July 20, 1985. Abridged.)

CSO: 1812/329

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

UN DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE ASSAILS U.S. POLICY ON MICRONESIA

LD101720 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 10 Aug 85

[Text] New York, 10 Aug (TASS)--The United Nations decolonization committee [word indistinct] the discussion of the situation in trust territories, including Micronesia, Guam and the Virgin Islands. During the discussion committee members spoke of the annexationist character of the United States' policy with respect to Micronesia, of neocolonialist agreements on "Commonwealth" and "free association" which the United States imposed on individual parts of Micronesia. The speakers strongly criticized Washington's policy of turning Micronesia into a strategic military place d'armes of the United States in the western part of the Pacific, the use of its territory as a test range for missiles, as well as for deploying and stockpiling nuclear weapons. The recommendations on Micronesia endorsed by the committee express the conviction that the presence of military bases and armaments in trust territories can become a serious obstacle holding back the realization of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The United Nations decolonization committee noted that an administering power must promote the exercise by the population of trust territories of its right to self-determination and independence as required by the (?charter) of the United Nations.

CSO: 1812/347

WESTERN EUROPE

FRENCH OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON STATE OF FRENCH-USSR RELATIONS

PM201330 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 85 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Claude Estier, chairman of the French National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee, by IZVESTIYA correspondent Yuriy Kovalenko in Paris:
"France-USSR: Important Factor of Stability"--no date given; first paragraph is an IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] IZVESTIYA's correspondent in France Yuriy Kovalenko met with Claude Estier, chairman of the French National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee, and asked him to answer several questions concerning the present state and the development prospects of Soviet-French relations.

Paris--Question: How do you assess the parliamentary ties existing between the Soviet Union and France? What is the role of parliaments in the struggle for peace and against the threat of nuclear war?

Answer: I consider that the firm parliamentary ties prevailing between our countries, ties with long traditions, are developing successfully. They play an important role in today's situation, because Europe and the whole world are experiencing a moment in their history when there is a need for new efforts aimed at consolidating peace and ending the arms race. A fruitful exchange of opinions on a whole range of important current issues took place during last June's visit to France by a delegation of the foreign affairs commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers. Despite the different points of view on some problems, we are united by a desire to halt the dangerous trend in international relations which has led us away from the period of detente in Europe. I think that our countries' parliamentarians, expressing the public's interests, have to make their contribution to the quest for new ways making it possible to return to the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence, which is enormously significant for the preservation of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Question: In your view, what are the prospects for the development of Soviet-French relations?

Answer: I think that now they are on the ascendant and have good prospects. I am convinced that the existence of good relations between our countries is an important factor of stability and peace in Europe. There have been certain difficulties in our relations in the past few years. Now, however, both countries are displaying readiness to create conditions for their successful

development. Evidence of the fact that the USSR and France are striving to improve them is provided by the exchange of visits at the highest level and the expansion of trade, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation.

Question: How do you assess the latest Soviet peace initiatives, and particularly the ones aimed at preventing the militarization of outer space?

Answer: It is well known that the French government has repeatedly spoken out against the militarization of space, which is why we have taken a negative stance regarding the U.S. so-called "Star Wars" project. We are convinced that it is fraught with exceptionally great danger and that now, when the problem facing Europe and the whole world is the reduction of nuclear arms, the creation of the latest types of weapons is fraught with the gravest of consequences which cannot but cause us concern. This is why the French government is against the U.S. plan and has declared that it does not intend to participate in it. This is why we give so much attention to all initiatives which may help avoid the extension of the arms race to space. We have taken note of the Soviet Union's new proposals in this sphere, and also of the fact that they have not been approved by the United States. I think that France and the Soviet Union must conduct a comprehensive and in-depth exchange of opinions on this question.

Question: What, in your opinion, is the significance of the forthcoming visit to France by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee?

Answer: I am confident that this visit will be an important event and will be highly significant for the development of relations between France and the Soviet Union. The exchange of opinions at the highest level is absolutely necessary in order to define ways for joint actions for the purpose of strengthening peace and attaining disarmament. The forthcoming visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, his talks with President Francois Mitterrand of France, and the other meetings, particularly with national assembly deputies, will help to improve a climate favorable for the successful development of French-Soviet ties.

CSO: 1807/506

WESTERN EUROPE

DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE WITH CYPRUS

LD161616 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 16 Aug 85

["U.S.S.R.--Cyprus: Mutually Advantageous Trade"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Aug (TASS)--One of the important areas of Soviet-Cypriot inter-state relations is [words indistinct] trade and economic contacts. Based on the principles of mutual benefit and equality they are developing dynamically.

Last year trade between the two countries grew significantly, showing a 20 million roubles increase on the previous year. Reciprocal deliveries cover a wide range of products. Oil and petroleum products, machines, equipment, transport facilities and lumber account for the bulk of Soviet export to Cyprus. For example, in 1984 Soviet agencies sold more than half a million roubles' worth of rolled steel, 85 passenger cars and other products, including machine-tools, medicines, window glass, photo equipment and foodstuffs to their partners in Cyprus.

In their turn, Soviet agencies buy traditional goods of Cypriot export on a stable basis: wines, dried raisins and other products. It is indicative that in recent years the share of industrial goods from Cyprus--ready-to-war clothes, knitwear and footwear--has been growing in the Soviet import. This provides an additional stimulus for further growth of the light industry of that country and other sectors of its economy.

Joint economic ventures are another promising form of Soviet-Cypriot cooperation. The U.S.S.R. state committee for foreign economic relations told TASS that there are realistic possibilities for establishing stable business contacts in irrigation construction, agriculture and development of economic infrastructure.

CSO: 1812/337

WESTERN EUROPE

BRIEFS

FRENCH CP MEMBER VISITS AZERBAIJAN--Member of the French Communist Party Politburo and Secretary of the French Communist Party Central Committee Paul Loran visited Azerbaijan for 3 days. He visited the Baku home air conditioner plant, became acquainted with the Azerbaijan History Museum Exposition, and travelled to the Kubinskiy Rayon. On 24 August the Secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee R.E. Mekhtiyev received Paul Loran. On that same day the guest left for Moscow. (AzerINFORM)-- [Text] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 25 Aug 85 p 2]

ITALIAN CP MEMBER VISITS UZBEKISTAN--Guido Cappelloni, member of the Italian Communist Party Central Committee, visited Uzbekistan. The guest visited the Tashkent Branch of the V.I. Lenin Central Museum, saw the sights and the new construction regions of the capital of the republic, and went to the Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy of the Uzbek SSR and the Tashkent Porcelain Plant. The Tashkent party gorkom received G. Cappelloni on 23 August. On the guest's itinerary are trips to Urgench, Khiva, Bukhara and Samarkand. (UzTAG)-- [Text] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 24 Aug 85 p 2]

FRENCH SOCIALIST IN BAKU--(AzerINFORM)--L. Soubre, secretary of the French Socialist Party, who is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, has spent 3 days in Azerbaijan. R.E. Mekhtieyev, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, received L. Soubre. On 29 July the guest from France left for Moscow. [Excerpts] [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 30 Jul 85 p 3]

WEST GERMAN DELEGATION IN BAKU--Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 12 April 1985 carries on page 3 a 400-word AzerINFORM report on the arrival of a West German delegation in Baku to hold talks on Azerbaijan's participation in the upcoming Soviet Union Days in the FRG. Two members of the delegation, Hans Georg Schachtschnabel, president of the Rhein-Neckar FRG-USSR Society, and Manfred David from Mannheim, are interviewed. [Editorial Report)

USSR-FRG TOURISM ACCORD--An agreement in the sphere of foreign tourism for the years of 1986-1990 between the tourist firms of VAO [All-Union Joint-Stock Company] "USSR Intourist" and "DER," FRG, was signed today. The document envisages a significant increase in the volume of tourist exchange between the two countries. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Sep 85 LD]

EASTERN EUROPE

COMMENTS ON EAST EUROPEAN ECONOMIC REFORMS

Bulgaria: Independent Farm Brigades

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 31, Jul 85 p 20

[Article by M. Ovdiyenko: "Shortening the Links of Management"]

[Text] As we were told at the National Agrarian-Industrial Union of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, new organizational forms of agricultural production are constantly being sought in Bulgaria. A fundamental organizational restructuring was instituted throughout the country last year following preliminary experimentation.

Previously, management was based on a three-tiered system: the agrarian-industrial complex (APK) -- the cooperative (goskhoz) --and the brigade. The cooperative (goskhoz) combined several localities, each of which constituted a production brigade. However, in essence this was a comparatively small farm with a specific set of sectors. In the opinion of our Bulgarian comrades, this structural system which was a justified system in its own time, had begun to create obstacles in production management.

The intermediate link has now been eliminated, and its functions have been transferred to the brigades, the smallest of which have been consolidated. This basic production link is directly subordinate to the district APK. The brigade has been converted into an independent entity within the structure of the agrarian-industrial complex. It resolves all production and social tasks, functions on the principles of complete self-support, and maintains its own bank account.

Let us take a more detailed look at this type of organization as illustrated by the Trakiya APK which cultivates 25,000 hectares of land and has about 4,000 cows and 30,000 sheep. The number of crops grown there is quite diversified. About 4,000 hectares are given to rice, the basic crop. Other crops include wheat, barley, corn, and sunflower seed. In general, the livestock and grain areas are the ones that stand out. At the same time, over 3,000 hectares are taken up by vigorously developed vegetable and fruit cultivation.

The reorganization was explained to us by Deputy Chairman of the APK for Economic Affairs I. Vaselski. The APK previously consisted of four major independent farms and three subsidiary enterprises. They have been replaced by 15 currently operating brigades.

Those brigades are primarily comprehensive in nature, although there are specialized brigades when conditions demand them. The comprehensive brigades are comprised of permanent technological links which cultivate a specific set of agricultural crops. As a rule, these brigades are headed by specialists. The number of brigade workers, ranging from 150 to 300 persons, depends on the amount of work being undertaken and on the agrotechnically substantiated crop rotation.

The general meeting of the brigade constitutes the collective organ of administration. It selects the brigade council, headed by a chairman, and resolves fundamental problems concerned with production management.

The brigade council resolves all problems that occur between the general meetings. The council's responsibilities include the active control over the observance of technological, financial, and labor discipline, a monthly review of reports, and an analysis of the brigade's productivity.

All current affairs between brigade council sessions are handled by the council's chairman in concert with agricultural specialists, tally clerks, and economists.

The brigade operates on the basis of an agreement with the APK and the production plan issued by the APK. The plan includes the qualitative and quantitative indices of agricultural production and sales (up to the point of export), the standardized unit cost of products, total income, profits, the withholding norm in the APK, and the withholding norm in the savings fund of the brigade. In this connection, the APK is obliged to provide the brigade with all necessary machinery, mineral fertilizers, and other support facilities.

In its turn, the brigade formulates a challenge plan which must exceed the APK plan, and sends cost accounting assignments to the links with which contracts are also concluded.

A characteristic distinction of this new type of brigade is the fact that it generates its own so-called savings fund. That fund is used for rationalization, machinery improvements, and in general, for expanded reproduction as well as wages, social-domestic, and cultural undertakings. Withholdings from the fund also go into the reserve (insurance) fund.

There have also been some improvements in wages paid to brigade members. Wages are now directly established not merely by product quantity, but by quality, reductions in production costs, and higher profitability. Moreover, when competitive results are summed up, preference is given, all other things being equal, to the collective which has achieved the greatest

savings of funds, materials, and labor. Hence, the goal of each brigade member is to produce the best possible quality product for the lowest possible expenditure of funds. The material well-being of each member is also dependent upon the attainment of that goal.

In the course of a year each worker receives an advance payment that varies in size in the various brigades. At the end of the year a final computation is made dependent upon the results achieved.

The practice of payment in kind has become widespread (up to 30 percent of above-plan production). If a collective member does not need the agricultural products offered to him as payment in kind, then he can receive cash (at government purchase prices).

The brigade assists its members to develop their personal farms in every possible way. There are special regulatory conditions for this purpose. Mixed feed is released at intra-farm prices, and specific land areas are allotted for storing hay, and other kinds of assistance are rendered. Those who have personal farms do not have the right to hire laborers, and are obligated to work a minimum of 250 days per year in the brigade. Produce from personal farms is sold only to the APK and to no one else. Once the APK has fulfilled its obligations to the state, it can sell its surplus produce independently.

"The first results of our new operations are gratifying," concluded I. Vaselski. "Production has increased, production costs have decreased by one and one-half percent, and profits have increased by 6.7 percent."

Hungary: Research Institutes Reorganized

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 31, Jul 85 p 20

[Article by V. Filippov: "Newly Introduced Technological Innovations"]

[Text] The accelerated industrial incorporation of scientific-research developmental projects, inventions, and other innovations is a problem of great concern to many persons, and Hungary is no exception. As is the case in the other socialist countries, work on this problem has been organized by the state. The Hungarian People's Republic has a National Technological Development Committee, technological subdivisions in the ministries, and many scientific-research and design-planning organizations for the country's principal industrial sectors. The entire system of the scientific-research organizations was recently reexamined. Institutes and scientific subdivisions have been consolidated, and several institutes that have not been operating efficiently or that have been duplicating each other's work have been eliminated. The institutes have been assigned specific tasks to raise the efficiency of scientific research and to accelerate the industrial incorporation of their results.

During a recent journalist trip to Hungary we were familiarized with the operations of the Budapest Innovation Fund, an organization that is concerned with the introduction of new ideas in engineering and technology, in production, and in services.

"Why was the innovation fund organized, if the republic already has a sufficient number of scientific-research and other institutions that are working on technological incorporation?", we asked the Director of the Fund E. Braun.

"Actually," she said, "basic ideas are elaborated and incorporated by the state scientific-research organizations and industrial enterprises. The incorporation of innovations is financed to a significant degree from state budget funds or special funds allotted by the ministries and enterprises. And still, in our opinion, our intellectual potential is not fully utilized. What I mean is that some inventions and technological ideas are never realized for various reasons. We receive many proposals for introducing new ideas that cannot be materialized anywhere. And this is not necessarily due to the negligence of officials or their unscrupulousness, although there are some instances of that too."

Innovations are not realized for different reasons. Sometimes an invention is not recognized and is not incorporated because it "competes" with a large scientific-research organization which is working on the same problem. The workers at such an organization hold their own "brain child" as dearer to them, and therefore do not intend to implement some one else's ideas.

In other cases, the workers at institutes and enterprises are willing to help the inventors, but their specialized field of production is not suitable.

Why should one work on a project, third parties reason, if the final result of the incorporated idea is unknown. Certainly, a new idea is not easily evaluated. In addition, and this, perhaps, is the most important factor, is the fact that many organizations do not have the financial resources for such purposes.

And surely, there is a considerable risk in bringing an innovation to the point of series production. An experimental production base is necessary for manufacturing test samples, and one must find an enterprise that can take on the production of the new item. All in all, large sums of money are needed. Moreover, there are always considerably fewer ideas that yield positive results than there are innovations that give negative results.

"Our experience has shown," said E. Braun, "that out of every 100 innovations accepted for realization following appropriate positive evaluations by a commission of experts, 70 turn out to be unsuitable, 20 turn out to be unprofitable, and only 10 yield any economic gain. But the income that results from the incorporation of 10 proposals must cover the

money spent on the remaining 90 accepted suggestions. That is the crux of the matter."

The history behind the creation of the innovation fund is an interesting one. Five years ago a small department (initially consisting of five persons) was created within the National Technological Development Committee to organize the incorporation of inventions and various types of ideas in engineering and technology. At first, the department was engaged in the planning and incorporation of innovations in the generally accepted sense of these words, and later became a self-financing link in the committee for the incorporation of innovations. The department came to be called the innovation fund. Five hundred million forints were appropriated from the budget for the expert evaluation of proposals and for payments to the accounts of enterprises that manufacture the new article samples and undertake other operations related to the incorporation of the proposals.

When innovations are accepted for realization the innovation fund concludes a contract with the inventors and other participants in the production of the new item. The contract stipulates the distribution share of possible profits for each party. The innovation fund receives a considerable share of the profits. After all, it must cover all losses if the proposal does not yield positive results. The proposal's author and the enterprise-manufacturer of the test sample do not bear any material responsibility for the success or failure of the project.

When the organization was created there were fears that it would turn into organ for reviewing all inventions and proposals that have been rejected by state institutions and that it would be inundated with paper work. Therefore, a bylaw was approved whereby the management of the fund is not obligated to explain why a proposal was not accepted. The fund need only inform the authors in writing that their idea is not of interest to the fund.

Five years of experience have shown that two-thirds of the proposals received by the fund are rejected without expert commission appraisal and only one-third of the proposals are sent forward to the expert commissions. When their findings are positive, the search begins for an organization and enterprise who might be able to take on the development of the idea, the manufacture of a test sample, and the organization of the item's production and marketing.

In the five years of its operation the fund has received 120 million forints as its share of profits realized from innovations. Its expenditures on unsuccessful proposals came to 50 million forints which had to be written off from the profits.

At the beginning of this year the innovation fund was transferred out of the jurisdiction of the National Technological Development Committee to the National Bank, and has become one of its branches. The organization is now called Innofinance and is engaged in the incorporation and financing of innovations. It has taken a solid place in the system of links that are accelerating technological progress.

LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

MOSCOW ON DECLARATION OF THE ANDES, LIBERATION THEOLOGY

PY291329 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2030 GMT 22 Aug 85

[Text] The Chilean news media, controlled by the Pinochet regime, have given broad coverage to the so-called Declaration of the Andes, a final document from a meeting of church leaders that closed on 29 July. The meeting was held at the initiative of Alfonso Lopez Trujillo, cardinal of Medellin, Colombia, and former president of the Latin American Bishop's Council, CELAM. The meeting was also attended by the bishop of Bahia, Brazil, Buenaventura (Sotemberg); the bishop of Arequipa, Peru, Fernando Vargas; and the bishop of Rancagua, Chile, Jorge Medina and others. All of them are considered to be champions of the most conservative sectors of the Latin American clergy. A second round of this meeting was held from 30 July to 3 August in Bogota, Colombia.

Both the document made public at the end of the Andes meeting and the reflections released after the Bogota meeting contain an explicit or implicit reference to Liberation Theology. The Chilean theologian Ronaldo Munoz, one of the most respected representatives of the Chilean Catholic Church, has answered Cardinal Lopez Trujillo in a public letter, noting the mistakes in the Declaration of the Andes. The letter is dated 31 July in Santiago, and it begins by recalling that, according to the Second Vatican Council, mutual affection must be promoted within the church, as well as respect and harmony by recognizing legitimate diversities so that an increasingly fruitful dialogue can be opened among those who constitute the people of God, both clergymen and church members.

In light of the counsel of the Second Vatican Council, which seems to me to have great current validity, the Chilean theologian said, I want to publicly state my surprise and pain at the Declaration of the Andes, which you and a group of your friends wrote and which was widely disseminated here through the news media. In that declaration, Munoz' letter continued, you reiterated serious charges of corruption of the Christian faith, which for many years you have been attributing to Liberation Theology. These charges have this time been repeated as though the serious errors pointed out in the instructions of the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith regarding some aspects of Liberation Theology have proven true in Latin America and Chile. The theologian Ronaldo Munoz went into detail about some of those errors that have been called disastrous for the faith and Christian practice. Among those

errors are cited, quote, the dialectic confrontation between a purported church of the people and the hierarchical and sacramental church, unquote; and, quote, the identification of the poor with the proletariat, seen from the standpoint of class struggle, unquote.

Father Munoz rebukes Monsignor Lopez Trujillo for having charged Liberation Theology with those errors, without expressly mentioning which authors are supporting those charges. This lack of precision makes it difficult to give an answer and throws suspicion upon all the Latin American theologians who try to carry out their evangelical mission among the oppressed masses.

The Chilean theologian pointed out that the writers of the Declaration of the Andes have made those charges knowing perfectly well that the best-known and most-read liberation theologians in our countries--Gustavo Gutierrez, Leonardo Boff, and Joao Sobrinho--have had their works carefully examined by their bishops and by the Vatican, and the serious deviations to which you have repeatedly referred were not mentioned. Father Ronaldo Munoz added firmly that your public denunciation, as though we were Marxists using the language and magisterium of the church, have exposed us to attacks by the dominant groups of our society. In countries like Chile, your denunciation is tantamount to inviting repression, even criminal acts, upon us.

The public letter of theologian Ronaldo Munoz has been included in the book entitled "Why We Are in Favor of Liberation Theology," written by the economist Jaime Escobar, and the priest Jose Aldunate, which has just been published in Chile. This book also contains writings by other Chilean theologians, and it constitutes an answer to the Declaration of the Andes so enthusiastically disseminated in Chile by the propaganda apparatus of Pinochet.

CSO: 3348/963

LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

MOSCOW: CHILE'S MDP REJECTS NATIONAL ACCORD

PY040229 Moscow Radio Magallanes in Spanish to Chile 0200 GMT 1 Sep 85

[Text] The Popular Democratic Movement, MDP, has released a statement on the document that expresses the agreement of 11 political parties and was endorsed by Cardinal Juan Francisco Fresno. The MDP statement says that it does not approve nor does it subscribe to this document because it does not propose the immediate departure of Pinochet and the end of his regime of terror.

The MDP says that the "National Accord for a Transition to Full Democracy," which under the sponsorship of Cardinal Juan Francisco Fresno has received the support of a broad spectrum of political parties, does not offer a real solution to end the dictatorship, nor does it interpret in its proposals the true democratic demands. A letter the MDP sent to Cardinal Fresno a few days ago notes that the necessary reconciliation among Chileans demands, as an inescapable first step, the immediate termination of the Pinochet regime and the installation of a provisional democratic government supported by the country's democratic forces to carry out a minimum program.

The MDP statement says that the country's redemocratization must be implemented on the basis of a Constituent Assembly in an environment including the full exercise of civil liberties under the provisions of the 1925 Constitution and later amendments. It demands the implementation of an emergency social and economic plan to restore and ensure respect for human rights and to end the exiles, banishments, and imprisonments affecting thousands of democratic activists.

The MDP, however, appreciates the position of the parties that have subscribed to the "National Accord for a Transition to Full Democracy," inasmuch as it in some way represents the addition of more sectors to the antidictatorial struggle. But the MDP says that the document of that sector of the opposition does not come up to the real democratic exigencies of the moment and that it has serious limitations. The MDP recognizes, nevertheless, that the accord contains some deeply felt popular demands, such as the demands to end all states of exception, to establish public liberties, and to end the political recess.

This statement was read to journalists by MDP Secretary General Jose Sanfuentes. After telling journalists the reasons the MDP does not subscribe

to the accord, Sanfuentes said that his organization is still willing to sit at a table with those who signed the "National Accord for a Transition to Full Democracy" to discuss shared views. He also called on all the people to participate in the protest scheduled for next Wednesday, 4 September, by the National Workers Command to demand the return to democracy. Sanfuentes said that this is the main task the people and the broadest sectors of the opposition must undertake at this time.

CSO: 3348/963

LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

CUBANS 'REJECT' RADIO MARTI

AU291524 Moscow PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA in Russian No 8, Aug 85 (signed to press 8 Jul 85) pp 80-81

[Commentary by Raul Valdes Vivo, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Communist Party of Cuba: "Rejecting 'Goebbels' Radio"]

[Text] The Cubans, and not only them but also all Latin Americans and all honest people on the planet received with indignation the news about the beginning of broadcasts against the Island of Freedom by a special radio station operating under the aegis of Voice of America.

It is important to point out that this radio station's studios and transmitters do not belong to counterrevolutionary emigres but represent an official mouthpiece of the U.S. Information Agency. Precisely in the current financial year this agency has allotted more than \$11 million for the needs of the diversionist radio station. As has been stated by the White House, the appropriations for this purpose will be significantly increased in the future. The total number of workers engaged in the station's operations has been set at 178 and its daily programs have been set at 14 hours of broadcasting time.

The initiator of this aggressive project, the Reagan administration--with its characteristic cynicism that can only be compared to the recent laying of flowers at the graves of Nazi criminals--has blasphemously named this pirate radio station after J. Marti, that is, taking the name of the glorious revolutionary which is sacred to every citizen of my fatherland. And the Cuban people have accurately nicknamed it "Goebbels radio" because what is involved is an organ of imperialist propaganda, a disseminator of vile fabrications, slanders, and misinformation.

Despite objections by Congress, owners of radio broadcasting corporations, and sober-minded public circles, the North American authorities have continued their efforts to set up a subversive anti-Cuban radio broadcast center for a number of years. But the air debut of this radio station on 20 May this year was nevertheless unexpected. For, prior to that time, the first steps had been made to ease the tension between Cuba and the United States and, in particular, the agreements on immigration had been concluded. (As is known, a quarter of a century ago relations between Havana and Washington reached zero point, that is, they were broken in every respect through Washington's fault.)

The question inevitably arises: Why has the White House so suddenly cut off the way to normalization?

As our government has reasonably pointed out the only possible answer to this question is found in the aspiration to create an atmosphere of tension around Cuba and divert attention from its just proposals on the problem of foreign debts that sit as a heavy burden on the backs of Latin America and other states of the "Third World." The United States insists that the Latin Americans should consent to bear without a murmur the deepening economic crisis, hunger, and poverty, subordinate themselves to the IMF's dictate, and pay monstrous interest rates. The IMF invariably and persistently promotes projects that inevitably lead to bloodshed and the suppression of angry protests of the poor populace, as, for instance, the events in the Dominican Republic have shown.

Havana has told the truth about the real state of affairs through the statement by Comrade F. Castro. The debts which virtually cannot be liquidated have in fact already been met with interest because for many decades imperialism has mercilessly plundered the nations living south of the Rio Grande. Attracting West European capital with high interest rates, the United States is at the same time appropriating for itself the resources that belong to us. This is achieved through the collection of debts and through the colossal profits gained by transnational corporations from an overexploitation of the working people.

Washington persistently pursues its brigand-like policy because, in absorbing an enormous mass of foreign resources, this policy makes it possible to finance the unrestrained arms race that is now aimed at the militarization of outer space within the framework of the infamous "Star Wars" program.

Cuba has expressed the demands of the peoples pressed down by the weight of heavy debts, demands which are understood by all peace-loving mankind, that is, demands that the creditor states assume the obligation of paying their banks by reducing their excessively exaggerated militarist budgets.

This then is the real background of the decision to launch the operations of the subversive radio broadcast center.

However, the appearance of "Goebbels radio" on the air is not only an anti-Cuban action. It also serves the policy of state terrorism pursued by Washington and its plans for direct intervention in Central America to suppress the heroic people of Nicaragua who have risen in defense of the Sandinist revolution, and the patriots of El Salvador who are waging a victorious liberation struggle. Therefore, it is by no means an accident that during the very first program of the station the microphone was given to one of the Nicaragua counterrevolutionaries, and the U.S. aggression against Grenada is daily extolled in the station's programs.

The choice of the date for the "first night" of the subversive radio broadcast center is also very indicative. The question is: Since Reagan has named the

newly concocted radio station after Marti, why then did the station make its debut on 20 May and not a day earlier when the 90th anniversary of the death of our national hero in battle was observed?

This was because his [Marti's] views are far from the views preached by the poisoner of the airwaves. On the eve of his death when he was surrounded by Spanish troops, the brilliant prophet Marti wrote down the following warning in his political testament that is known as the "Letter to Manuel Mercado": In the final analysis the United States is the main enemy of Cuba's independence. Everything that I have done, he noted, serves the single goal of not allowing the establishment of U.S. domination over the republics of our America. "What is involved is a matter of life or death. And a mistake would be disastrous." (Footnote 1) (J. Marti: "Obras Escogidas, Vol. 3, Havana, 1981, p 577. Unmasking in his message to Mercado, who held a high government position in Mexico, the ambitious plans of North American imperialism and issuing a warning about their consequences, J. Marti wanted thereby to call that country's attention to these plans.)

This is why 19 May turned out to be unsuitable for launching the twin station of Radio "Free Europe."

But, nevertheless, why then was 20 May picked for that purpose? It was on that day in 1902 that the neocolonial Cuban republic was proclaimed after Washington had succeeded in imposing on our country the shackling obligations that limited its sovereignty. This by no means signified a triumph of the ideals that over a period of 30 years continuously inspired the two-million people of the island in their struggle against the 300,000 strong army of the Spanish crown. As is known, the United States unleashed history's first imperialist war to seize Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and other overseas properties of Spain that was then in a state of decline.

The master of the White House picked 20 May because he wanted to emphasize that his sympathies are with the Cuba of the shameful past, the Cuba where oppression and class, race, and other forms of discrimination were dominant, a country that carried no weight in the world. And this is what Washington is longing for, for a Cuba where the Uncle Sam's ambassador would be boss of everything and where the foreign monopolies would act as masters of the most fertile lands, of mines and banks, of telephone and electric power companies, that is, of virtually all the resources of our fatherland. For a Cuba that can be threatened with invasion from the territory of the forcibly occupied Guantanamo base at the slightest hint of any desire to gain independence.

However, new Cuba is completely free, independent, and sovereign and will continue to be so. Its peoples are fully resolved to protect their country, they enjoy the boundless support of the socialist community and the solidarity of all progressive forces on earth. Our people reject with contempt the "Goebbels radio" that is synonymous with impudent and malicious lies.

The Cuba of Marti and Fidel is invincible!

CSO: 1807/491

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

PRAVDA CITES BEIJING RENMIN RIBAO ON U.S. AFRICA POLICY

PM211048 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 85 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report under the rubric "The Press Testifies": "Hypocritical Stance"]

[Text] RENMIN RIBAO has published an article on the hypocritical U.S. policy in South Africa.

The situation in southern Africa, the newspaper points out, has attracted the attention of the whole world. The public everywhere, including in the United States, has condemned the bloody repressions to which the Republic of South Africa [RSA] authorities have subjected the black fighters against apartheid.

Although verbally it is also opposed to apartheid, the U.S. administration nonetheless refuses to apply any sanctions against the South African racists. The White House maintains so-called "constructive engagement" with the RSA, thus hoping to convince Pretoria to change its course of racial segregation. This stance by official Washington is no accident. It is determined by the U.S. economic and strategic interests in southern Africa. The RSA controls the important sea route between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and gold and many other raw materials are extracted there. U.S. capital investment in Pretoria is second only to Britain's.

Following the introduction of emergency rule in the RSA, the White House could no longer remain an "impartial" observer. The U.S. ambassador to Pretoria was recalled to Washington for "clarification of the situation," while highly placed administration officials started making sharp remarks about the policy of apartheid. Even Secretary of State Shultz spoke of apartheid's "inevitable defeat."

Nevertheless, none of this is an indication of radical changes in U.S. policy toward the racist regime. The certain transformation of stance is just the result of concessions to public opinion and protest movements in the United States. In addition, some of official Washington's allies are pressuring it on this issue. On the whole, however, Washington is actively seeking ways to save the racists, RENMIN RIBAO notes.

CSO: 1807/463

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

TASS REPORTS CONTRADICTIONS IN U.S., JAPANESE TRADE

LD211515 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 21 Aug 85

[Text] Tokyo, 21 Aug (TASS)--Members of a delegation of U.S. senators who visited Tokyo urged Japan to open its market to U.S. goods. The head of the delegation, Senator Robert Dole, leader of the Republican majority in the Senate, said at a news conference here that increasing amounts of Japanese goods marketed in the United States and the growing U.S. deficit in trade with Japan might lead to a situation whereby the U.S. Congress would pass protectionist legislation directed against Japan. Senator Dole admitted that the Reagan administration was already working on a series of new measures devised to toughen U.S. policy in the sphere of commerce and that they might jeopardise the export of goods from several countries, Japan among them, to the United States.

Another visitor from the United States who was in Tokyo recently, U.S. trade negotiator Clayton Yeutter, also called for more felicitous conditions for bilateral commerce which might be conducive to an increased Japanese import from the United States. He mentioned a list of goods which Washington was ready to deliver. These include communication satellites, telecommunication equipment and a whole range of other products which Japan successfully manufactures itself.

Yeutter warned his hosts that the U.S. administration was contemplating protectionist measures with respect to Tokyo. At the same time he was compelled to admit that it was unlikely that the U.S. deficit in trade with Japan which might reach \$50 billion would be significantly reduced before the end of the current year.

CSO: 1812/337

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

COAL EXPORTS TO JAPAN REACH ONE MILLION TONS

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 21 Aug 85

[S. Agafonov article: "Soviet Coal Exports to Japan Reach a Million Tons"]

[Text] A town of miners with a population of 100,000 has emerged on permafrost amid annual temperature fluctuations of 102 degrees and winter frosts that last from September to May.

On August 19 miners of Neryungri, the chief open-cast mine of the South Yakut coal fields producing about 12 million tons of coal a year, marked a significant event: they had just finished shipping the first million tons of coal to be exported to Japan according to a general export agreement between our countries.

The agreement signed by the two nations in 1974 stipulated the guidelines for cooperation between the USSR and Japan in developing the South Yakut coking coal fields. It is a mutually beneficial and long-term cooperation expected to last into the 21st century.

V. Zhdanirov, general manager of the Yakutugol Association, said 57 Japanese companies were involved in developing the fields, supplying machines and equipment and partially financing the project. The relations between partners were constructive and based on mutual understanding. The putting into operation of the high-quality coal concentrate producing Neryungri mine was the result of a concerted effort by Soviet and Japanese specialists indicating to the fruitful nature of cooperation between the two countries.

A big delegation of Japanese businessmen led by President K. Tanaka of Nippon Steel Corporation, Japan's leading steel producer, has arrived at the Neryungri mine to attend a gala meeting. "Japan has been importing Soviet coaking coal for almost forty years now," President Tanaka said. "Today we are celebrating an epoch-making event whose importance is not only in the scope of the project but also in the fact that our experience of being partners in developing the Neryungri fields is a contribution to the Soviet-Japanese trade and to the cause of strengthening friendly relations between the USSR and Japan. I hope that these mutually beneficial ties have bright prospects for the future."

"There is yet one more thing to point out," said E. Manakhov, general manager of the Soyuzpromexport Association. "We are not going to put a full stop to our cooperation. Technological cooperation will go on. There is still a crucial field of collaboration in building the second stage of the Port of Vostochny, the chief outlet for the Neryungri coal to reach its consumers. There are several other fields in which we shall cooperate. To make a long story short, the prospects are bright."

CSO: 1812/330

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

ASIAN, PACIFIC PEACE ZONE EFFORTS PROMOTED

'No Insurmountable Barrier'

LD172154 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1640 GMT 17 Sep 85

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Sergey Pravdin, with Vladimir Tsvetov commentary]

[Text] [Pravdin] The Washington administration is trying to hinder efforts by countries in Asia and the Pacific Ocean to convert this area into a zone of peace and equitable cooperation. The issue of uniting these efforts, in conditions of a changing situation in Asia and the Pacific Ocean, and of an integrated approach to the problem of guaranteeing security in this area, was discussed in particular during Comrade Gorbachev's meeting with the Japanese Socialists' delegation. Vladimir Tsvetov, Central Television and All-Union Radio political observer, is at the microphone:

[Tsvetov] The "International Diary" presenter correctly noted the changing situation in Asia and the Pacific Ocean, which allows the efforts of those countries to be united with the aim of strengthening peace and security. The socialist states, and participants in the Nonaligned Movement have, for example, submitted a proposal to convert the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. Both the nuclear powers situated on the Asian continent, the USSR and the PRC, have taken the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Thirteen countries in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean have declared themselves a nuclear-free zone. In other words, collective actions are already being undertaken.

What principles could form the basis for such further actions. These principles go back to the resolutions of the Bandung Conference, the 30th anniversary of which we recently marked. Applied today, they could take the form of an agreement between the Asian nuclear powers not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Room could be found among the principles for: a ban on the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states; the cessation of nuclear tests in Asia, the Pacific and the Indian oceans; a refusal by the Asian and Pacific Ocean countries to take part in the space arms race; and the disbandment of the existing military blocs with the obligation not to create new ones.

The Asian-Pacific Ocean area of the world is bound by a multitude of ties with other parts of the world, and thus it is clear that the elimination here of hotbeds of tension could promote the adoption of the obligation by every permanent member of the UN Security Council not to interfere in the affairs of Asian and Pacific Ocean countries, not to use force or the threat of force in relations with them, and not to draw them into military blocs. Understandably, the achievement of peace and security on a collective basis is a lengthy and far from simple process. However, the experience of Europe--which overcame this path and reached the Helsinki agreements--shows that there is no insurmountable barrier. Various methods are possible: bilateral talks, multilateral consultations, and, in prospect, a pan-Asian forum for an exchange of opinions and joint searches for constructive solutions. There are opponents to the idea, the essence of which I have set forth, but there are more who support it, and their number will inevitably grow in the present situation, which shows that confrontation is becoming ever more dangerous for all peoples.

Khabarovsk Peace Forum

PM130923 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Sep 85 Second Edition p 2

[Report by TASS Correspondent M. Kolbaska: "For a World Without War"]

[Text] Khabarovsk, 6 Sep--An international conference devoted to the 40th anniversary of the victory over Japanese militarism and to the tasks of the peace movement in the countries of Asia and the Pacific is continuing its work. Prominent public figures, scientists, and Soviet and foreign military historians are taking part in the sessions of the problems commissions which have started work. The commission "The victory over Japanese militarism and the rise of the national liberation struggle of the Asian peoples" is being led by Lieutenant General P. Zilin, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Institute of Military History and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The interest in the problem we are discussing, he said, is tremendous and occasioned by the importance of the achievement of the victory over Japanese militarism in World War II, and by the huge impact on the alignment of class forces in the region and on the fate of the Asian countries which ensued from that victory. It is possible to say with confidence today that in the Asia-Pacific region there is no country whose fate was not linked with the defeat of Japanese militarism.

The victory of the Soviet Union and its armed forces, led by the communist party, and Japan's surrender created favorable conditions for the peoples of China, Korea, Vietnam, and other countries of East and Southeast Asia to struggle successfully for freedom, independence, and socioeconomic transformations. However, bourgeois historians do not abandon hopes of distorting and falsifying the significance of the victory in the Far East. They are trying to rehabilitate the aggressors who unleashed World War II.

The danger of this turn of events in the Far East demands high vigilance from the peoples and energetic joint actions against the military preparations of the United States, Japan, and South Korea. The American-Japanese strategy

of splitting the Asian countries into opposing military-political groupings must be countered with a policy of cooperation in the interests of collective security in the Far East. All participants in the present conference are in solidarity on this.

"The victory over fascist Germany and militarist Japan," Lieutenant General (Vu Nam Long), head of the SRV delegation, stressed in his speech, "is a serious warning to those who are again trying to establish their domination over the world. In the current complex and tense situation the Soviet Union is struggling resolutely for peace and against nuclear war. The Vietnamese people fully support the USSR's important peace initiatives aimed at halting the nuclear arms race and freezing and ultimately eliminating all types of nuclear weapons. Special attention is merited by the Soviet Union's proposal on the need to convene an all-Asia forum to discuss questions of ensuring peace and security in the region, and also the USSR's important decision on the unilateral cessation of all nuclear explosions as from 6 August 1985.

Because they spent 50 years struggling for independence and bore the heavy losses of the 30-year-long war, (Vu Nam Long) said, our people are burning with the desire to live in peace. That is why the conference participants wholly share the hope, expressed in the greetings from M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, that the Asian states will pool their efforts in order to work out jointly a common and comprehensive approach to the problem of security throughout Asia and in the adjoining waters of the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

Khabarovsk Conference Ends

PM110825 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Sep 85 Second Edition p 1

[Unnamed TASS correspondent's report: "For Unity of the Forces of Peace"]

[Text] Khabarovsk, 7 Sep--The participants in the international conference which ended in Khabarovsk today displayed responsibility for the fate of the planet, desire to do everything possible for the sake of preserving life, and solidarity with the Asian peoples' struggle for security and good-neighborness. The conference was devoted to the 40th anniversary of the victory over Japanese militarism and the tasks of the peace movement in Asian and Pacific countries.

Over a 3-day period, at plenary and committee sessions, eminent public figures, scientists from many countries, and representatives of international democratic organizations exchanged opinions on the ways and means to consolidate peace, deepen trust and mutual understanding between peoples and countries in the Asian and Pacific region, and eliminate the nuclear danger hanging over the world.

The Khabarovsk meeting, as A. S. Dzasokhov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African countries, noted, convincingly displayed the firm will of peace-loving forces to prevent

nuclear war and uphold life. The representatives of differing ideological, political, and religious views were unanimous in their evaluation of the causes behind today's alarming situation in the world.

It was stressed at the conference that the nuclear threat against mankind stems from militarist circles and imperialism, and primarily U.S. imperialism. It is their efforts in various wars for which, however, the Asian peoples have to pay dearly.

Many speakers expressed from the conference rostrum alarm in connection with the U.S. Administration's obvious attempts to turn the Asian and Pacific region into yet another arena for global nuclear missile confrontation, and the region's countries and peoples into hostages to its nuclear strategy.

Expressing the will of peace-loving forces in Asian and Pacific countries and of broad circles of the international public, the conference proclaimed the need to step up efforts and actions aimed at preventing the implementation of these dangerous plans, and to struggle for an Asia as a zone of peace and for a Pacific Ocean free of nuclear weapons. Confidence was expressed that the sociopolitical forces and organizations in countries from the Asian and Pacific region, together with all peace-loving forces on the planet, will struggle even more actively to eliminate the threat of a nuclear world war and to liquidate nuclear weapons.

The participants in the conference adopted an address to the peoples in countries of the Asian and Pacific region. Calling upon them to remember the tragic lessons of the last war, they paid the profound respect due to the eternal memory of the millions of the earth's sons and daughters who, 40 years ago, upheld the peoples' freedom at the cost of enormous sacrifices and privations; they also noted the Soviet Union's decisive contribution to the rout of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism. The participants in the forum called on the public in Asian and Pacific countries to increase the contribution to the world movement for curbing the arms race and liquidating the threat of thermonuclear war, and against "star wars." They warmly supported the new Soviet initiative--the unilateral termination of all nuclear explosions. It was stressed that if the United States were to join in this moratorium, this would be highly significant for the limitation and termination of the nuclear arms race and would exert a restraining influence on other countries.

The participants in the forum appealed to Asian states for a broader political dialogue and energetic collective efforts in the struggle to attain lasting peace and security in the region.

CSO: 1807/008

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

BRIEFS

USSR TO ATTEND BEIJING TRADE FAIR--Visitors to the coming Asian-Pacific International Trade Fair in Beijing will have the opportunity to see the largest Soviet pavilion set up in China in the last 30 years, (Shibakov), head of the Soviet pavilion, told station reporters. The fair, with the expected participation of 25 countries, will open in Beijing in mid-November. (Shibakov) said: Fourteen all-union corporations under the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade and seven corporations under the State Commission for Foreign Economic Relations, as well as the Soviet Academy of Sciences and State Commission for Foreign Tourism will take part in the Beijing fair. Soviet-made vehicles, aircraft, laser equipment, new machine tools, books, and scientific instruments will be displayed. [Text] [Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 31 Aug 85]

CSO: 4006/957

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

ZAMYATIN CITED ON MIDDLE EAST, DENIES RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

LD151441 Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 15 Aug 85

[Text] The press in Western and some Arab countries has carried reports about what has been called the United States' new approach to a Middle East settlement. The chief of the Foreign Information Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, Leonid Zamyatin, has published an article on the issue in the weekly MOSCOW NEWS. We present a summary of this article:

The so-called new approach, Leonid Zamyatin says, is a repetition of the Reagan plan formulated in 1982. Its purpose is to establish American diktat in the Middle East on the basis of the Camp David deal. If there is anything new in the American administration's approach it is the intention to make somebody else push through the Reagan plan to drag more Arab countries into separate deals.

The Soviet Union, Leonid Zamyatin stresses, rejects the way of separate deals as having no future. Only collective efforts by all parties concerned can restore peace and justice in the region. These efforts could materialize within the framework of an international conference in the Middle East with full-fledged participation of the PLO and also the Soviet Union and the United States. The signing of a Jordanian-Palestinian agreement in Amman in February was followed by increased attempts to broaden the dangerous split in the Palestinian resistance movement. The Soviet Union has always believed it is necessary to restore the unity of the Palestinian Arabs' liberation movement on a patriotic and anti-imperialist basis.

The source of continuing tension in Lebanon is the provocative policy of Israel, which is inciting and fueling internal conflicts. There can be only a peaceful settlement of Lebanon's problems on the basis of national reconciliation with due regard to the interests of all Lebanon's patriotic forces and of preserving the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Soviet Union, Leonid Zamyatin says, praises Syria's principled and consistent stand on Middle East affairs and its staunchness in the fight against Israeli aggression and imperialist intrigues in the Middle East and attempts to make the Arabs accept capitulatory deals. It shares the Syrian leadership's desire to foster Soviet-Syrian relations, which was demonstrated during the recent summit talks in Moscow. All Arab countries, irrespective of their social and political systems, can count on Soviet help and cooperation in the fight against imperialism and Zionism.

Western propaganda has recently launched a rumor that Moscow is going to restore diplomatic relations with Israel. That rumor was quickly supported by Arab reaction. The Soviet Union states in no uncertain terms that as long as the causes remain that led to the breaking off of Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations in 1967 there will be no reason to expect it to alter its stand on the issue.

CSO: 1812/328

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

TEHRAN MEDIA CRITICIZED FOR ANTI-SOVIET 'FABRICATIONS'

PM030734 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 34, Aug 85 p 11

[Article by S. Pavlov: "At Whose Prompting?"]

[Text] Iran's mass media have come out with another spate of anti-Soviet fabrications. The purpose, it seems, is to give the Iranians a distorted picture of the Soviet Union's consistent friendly policy towards Iran. It is symptomatic that some newspapers, such as the KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, the TEHRAN TIMES and the JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI, and also Radio Tehran, have their fits of anti-Soviet hysteria at exactly the time when the U.S. special services and their propaganda agencies stage some fresh act of anti-Soviet ideological subversion.

To conceal the truth, some Iranian newsmen have recourse to lies and slander. An editorial in the KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL of 10 July is a case in point. It alleges that in the period immediately preceding the Iranian revolution Soviet representatives kept in touch with CIA agents in Tehran and even reproached the United States for failing to give sufficient aid to the Shah. Probably in an attempt to stun his instructors, the falsification wizards of Langley, the author serves up another canard. The Americans and Russians, it turns out, are in close contact on matters relating to present and future developments in every corner of the Islamic world.

The author of the article apparently suffers from sclerosis. One might remind him of the fact that in 1978, when Washington was preparing for an armed invasion of Iran, the Soviet Union issued a statement on the inadmissibility of intervention in that country's internal affairs and thus virtually took the Iranian revolution under its protection. Moreover, the Soviet Union made its landland waterways available for the transit of Iranian goods, thus considerably reducing the damage caused to the Iranian economy by the U.S. embargo on trade with Iran and by the American sea blockade. The Soviet people gave large-scale economic aid to Iran, contributing to the construction of 160 industrial and other projects in that country including the Isfahan metallurgical works. About 80,000

Iranians work at enterprises built and equipped with Soviet help. These facts are well known in the Islamic world, so public opinion there will hardly be taken in by anti-Soviet fables.

The headline of the KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL article is a paraphrase of the saying widely current in the East, "The enemy of your enemy is my friend." The author would do well to recall another Eastern saying, "Don't reject a hand that offers you bread."

CSO: 1812/328

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

TOLL OF WAR ON IRAQ, IRAN DEPLORED

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 27 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by A. Ostalskiy, TASS correspondent, Bagdad: "Iran-Iraq: Who Is Sowing Hatred?"]

[Text] An extraordinary sight for the center of a city is spread out in the Karkh-Shavak area of Bagdad--an enormous "tent of condolences." According to ancient custom, such tents stand next to the home of a deceased, who is being wailed for bitterly, or in a mosque. Relatives, friends or simply passers-by come into the shelter to speak well of the deceased, to pray for his spirit and to bid condolences to the family over a cup of strong Bedouin coffee. However, this tent was excessively large, and in the twilight it appeared to be a black symbol of the war and grief which has taken place in many families.

Search lights stood a few dozen meters from the tent, at the place where the superhighway intersects Haifa Street, and illuminated the ruins of a 3-story building where the rescuers had been working since morning. By chance the rocket impacted in the only older style building which stood among the multi-towers of new living quarters, and in which residents of Bagdad took such pride. This is why the number of casualties this time measured in the dozens and not in the hundreds.

However, not only the tent, but also the sidewalks around it and even the closest vacant lot between the buildings could not accommodate all those wishing to express their grief not only for the dozens of children and old people, and old persons and men and women who died here at dawn, but also for the hundreds of thousands of other war casualties, and sorrow for the beautiful "city of peace," Bagdad, disfigured by explosions, and by its own distorted fate.

Already forgotten are the first weeks of the 1980 beginning of the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, when bombs exploded and intermittent air raid sirens sounded in the city. Only black linen and flags on the homes of fallen soldiers remind one that this city, the nation's capital, has for 5 years been conducting an exhausting, bloody and senseless war. Its harsh machine, destroying the flower of both nations, and consuming millions of dollars a year, has been roaring somewhere far away--approximately in the vicinity of the Iran-Iraq state border. The sounds of shots and the

explosions of bombs on the front lines or in the Persian Gulf do not reach Baghdad. In the intervals between the infrequent attacks and counterattacks which have not brought perceptible results the war has assumed a static nature.

All efforts of the U.N., the non-aligned movement and international organizations, which have been trying to achieve an end to the conflict and a peaceful settlement by means of negotiations, have ended unsuccessfully. In March of this year a new escalation began: Iranian forces again landed on the western shore of the El'-Khovejze swamp, which begins on Iranian territory, and ignited fierce battles in which over 100,000 soldiers from both sides took part, and actively employed aviation, tanks, artillery and vehicle-mounted multi-barrelled rocker launchers.

The battle lasted a week, and as before yielded no real result: the Iranian forces were compelled to retreat to approximately the same positions they occupied before the attack commenced. The only result was the senseless slaughter of tens of thousands of young people--sons, husbands and fathers of those for whom the only thing left to do was to cry in the "tents of condolence" throughout all corners of Iraq and Iran.

Simultaneously with the aggravation of the situation on the front, the conflict assumed a new, ominous form--the so-called "war of the cities" began. Both sides are accusing each other of violating the 12 June 1984 agreement, according to which they were obliged to avoid strikes on peaceful population centers. "Retaliatory actions" followed the accusations, and already regular military summaries report at times not only the results of battles on the front, but as much of air attacks and missile strikes on cities and villages, and on civilian buildings. Both sides are fighting especially fiercely for each other's capital. Iraqi aviation bombed Teheran, and Iran conducted rocket strikes on Baghdad.

In connection with the Muslim holiday of "breaking the fast" in mid-June, strikes on civilian targets were temporarily halted on Iraqi initiative. However, Iraqi President Saddam Husayn warned that a resumption of the "war of the cities" would be inevitable if Iran refused peace talks as before. Teheran continues to insist on "punishing" the present Iraqi government, claiming that it is responsible for starting the war, and categorically refuses contact with it.

Iman, a 32-year old mother of three who was left a widow 2 years ago after her husband fell near Basra, came to mourn the dead at a house on Haifa Street. It is obvious that her nervous system has been strained by the stressful work in the ministry, domestic duties, concern for her children and straitened circumstances. But now she fears the missiles more than ever. "That's the point, the damned thing," she muttered, falls from the sky in the middle of the night, and even giving the alarm does no good. You cannot sleep in the cellar every night... Perhaps this war may never end? Perhaps we will totally destroy Teheran, and they--Baghdad and all our cities? Who will feed our children then?"

Here is 75-year old Abdel' Rakhim who does not ask any questions, he is completely blinded by grief: a missile killed his grandson--"his last hope" after the death of his three sons on the front. He brandishes his arms which are weak from age, and demands that he be immediately conscripted into the army and sent to the front.

... The reactionary forces which cold-bloodedly planned this war, provoked it and planted the seeds of his mortal hatred, have human, and possibly quite handsome faces. But they are not visible to the old man Abdel', Iman, or to the thousands of other who came today to the "tent of condolences."

Possibly, my present interlocutor, a famous correspondent from one of the most influential American newspapers, and who by the way is not considered a double-dyed reactionary and cynic, would recognize them. "The prevailing attitude in Washington," he says, "is that God grant that this war continue as long as possible. We are on quite different paths from present Iraq and, all the more so Iran, but an open falling out with either is not very beneficial. The main concern is not to allow either a victory, and let them fight."

The journalist, as if abruptly rethinking, begins suddenly talking about how the horrible and senseless sufferings of the Iraqi and Iranian peoples, and how "he personally" feels for them, but here again it is all in the tone of a political broker who in a business-like manner calculates someone else's political profits from continuing the carnage.

And while the "sober-thinkers" observe the development of events in the most powerful, fierce and destructive war of recent years with interest, in Baghdad, Teheran, Basra, Dezful, Mandali and Khamadan are being attacked by projectiles, bombs and missiles, and the piercing wail of the air raid sirens not only causes horror, but also new hatred, and hardens the hearts of the people.

During the day Baghdad lives an almost normal life. There are many people on the streets, establishments, stores and even museums. But towards evening the city dies down (explosions more often are heard at night and in the pre-dawn hours), the streets are unusually empty and cars speed past at high speed. Thousands of people tensely listen in silence guessing where the missile will fall, and who will be receiving visitors tomorrow under the large tent.

13110

CSO: 1807/455

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

COUPS IN UGANDA RESULT OF INTERTRIBAL STRIFE

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 33, Aug 85 p 13

[Article by D. Zgersky]

[Text]

The July 27 military take-over was no great surprise for many Ugandans, including as like as not the overthrown President Milton Obote, for whom this was his second ouster from the presidency. In the opinion of local observers the coup was to all intents and purposes inevitable, considering the aggravation of the situation to a danger pitch by clashes between servicemen belonging to different tribes, and the guerrilla operations in western Uganda by the National Resistance Army. As if anticipating the events, Obote sent his family in good time to neighbouring Kenya and then fled there himself as soon as he learned that the forces of Brigadier General Basilio Olara Okello were moving on the capital from the north.

In the morning of July 27 the Brigadier announced that the military had taken over power in a bloodless coup. But he did not become the new leader of the republic, having, as a France Presse correspondent put it, merely "cleared the way" for his 71-year-old namesake and fellow Acholi tribesman, Lieutenant General Tito Okello, commander of the official National Liberation Army of Uganda. The latter became Chairman of the Military Council of the republic, and Paul Mwanga, who had been Vice-President and Defence Minister in the previous government, was named Prime Minister.

This is the third coup d'état in Uganda since its liberation from British rule in 1963. An analysis of the reasons for all three coups reveals that they are basically identical in many respects. The underlying cause is intertribal strife.

The population of Uganda consists of three ethnic groups, Bantu, Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic, which in turn are divided into some two dozen tribes. Under Obote the Nilotic Acholi and Lango tribes were in power. During the Amin presidency they were persecuted, the dictator preferring his own fellow tribesmen who occupy areas on the White Nile. The present leaders accuse Obote of likewise stirring up intertribal strife. According to a Reuters dispatch, in filling governmental and army command posts, he gave preference to members of the Lango tribe, to which he himself belongs. This gave rise to discontent among members of the army command belonging to the Acholi.

In his first statement over the radio, Basilio Okello said that the purpose of the coup was to ensure national unity. "Peace be to Uganda," he said. "One Uganda, one nation."

The commander of the National Resistance Army, Yoweri Museveni, who was in Sweden at the time, declared in support of the new government. The new leadership has announced its intention

to hold a general election in 12 months' time. In this connection the British Financial Times has observed: "If a glimmer of hope for Uganda can be found in the events of the past few days it lies in the announcement by the new military government that it will hold elections for a return to civilian rule in 12 months."

It is clear that stabilization of the situation in Uganda depends above all on whether the new leaders will be able to solve the problem of intertribal

friction. For it is this problem that for many years has been the cause of the troubled and at times chaotic situation in the country. It should also be borne in mind that, as the post-colonial development of a number of African countries has shown, tribalist strife invariably plays into the hands primarily of those imperialist forces which are seeking to impose their neo-colonialist domination on the African peoples. Time will show whether the new regime will be able to cope with this danger.

CSO: 1812/348

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